

Warwick seeks writ against students

from Jane Headley

COVENTRY

The University of Warwick has applied for a High Court order for possession of Senate House, its administration centre, and the telephone exchange, which have been occupied by students since the beginning of term three weeks ago.

Five members of the students' union, including the president, Kasper de Graaf, and Miss Nita Boves, the secretary, were served with writs last Monday summoning them to a High Court hearing on Wednesday afternoon to defend their action during the occupation.

The occupation is in protest against rent increases in university accommodation. Since it began grant cheques have been withheld and the university warned recently that if Senate House was still occupied by May 12, termination of examinations would be inevitable.

Despite the delay in payments of grant cheques and the threat to examinations, over 500 students voted to continue the occupation when they met on Monday to discuss the impending High Court hearing.

The university's attempt to split the students by withdrawing grant cheques and threatening to postpone examinations has simply not worked," said Miss Boves.

"Students are naturally worried about exams and the union shares their concern. Even though they are still supporting the demands of the occupation, if the students'...

Two-part rise ends WEA strike threat

The threatened strike of about 120 union members of the Workers' Educational Association has been averted with a 173 per cent pay rise backdated to last August.

They have also agreed on another rise next August, linked to a scale consisting of Burnham lecturer grade II and part of grade I.

The association has its biennial conference in Harrogate this weekend. Secretary of State for Education, Mr. Francis, will address a national rally tonight.

The motions for discussion will deal with the Russell report, and the association's work, finance and constitution.

The tutor organisers will propose that the WEA sets up a committee to look into finances and the national committee will argue that the Government should allow voluntary associations some of the benefits given to charities.

The national committee has also circulated a conference delegates with a 12 page booklet explaining the organization's financial crisis.

"The association is now in the most severe financial crisis in its history," it says. "This sombre prospect is in striking contrast to the situation in 1973 when the association proudly celebrated 70 years of steady development, and eagerly anticipated a range of new opportunities following the publication of the Russell report."

It concludes: "If sufficient additional income cannot be raised, the only alternative will be a massive shift of priorities."

Vocational courses favoured by Scots

Total numbers on vocational courses in Scottish central institutions and further education colleges in 1973-74 increased by 6 per cent over the previous year according to the annual report on education in Scotland presented to Parliament last week.

The report, issued by the Scottish Education Department, describes a year of innovation in further education through new agencies like the Scottish Business Education Council and the Scottish Technical Education Council.

The business education council started new awards in industrial administration, accounting and computer operations during the year. Training courses had been introduced in welding and other fields in Inverness-shire, Pife and Glasgow to meet the demand generated by North Sea oil developments.

Education in Scotland in 1974, Cmd 5998, HMSO Edinburgh, price 10p.

Czech socialism debate

Professor Edward Goldschmidt, former Professor of Charles University, Prague, is to address a meeting on Socialism and the Czechoslovak experience at the Polytechnic of North London, Romsey Town, on May 12.

Students want £1 a day hall rents

Students picked the Department of Education and Science on Wednesday to protest against rising rents in polytechnics and colleges.

The students want the Inter Authority Payments Committee, which meets annually at Elizabeth House, London, to reduce rents to a number of colleges and polytechnics if they exceed £210 for a 30-week year. The committee, which met on Wednesday, fixes a "recommended rent" for colleges and polytechnics every year.

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A spokesman for the National Union of Students said this week that the union had submitted a paper to the committee estimating £1 a day as a reasonable charge for a room and all meals. The NUS is asking the committee to reduce all rents to this level from September. But the committee is expected to recommend further increases.

The NUS is also asking for rents to be settled in local negotiations between student unions and individual colleges so that terms can be fixed for services and meals provided in addition to rent.

Student grants are expected to be increased at the end of the month. Negotiations between the NUS and the DES are nearing completion although a final sum has still to be fixed.

The NUS is asking for a 40 per cent increase which would raise grants to £845 for students outside London. The Government is expected to offer between £740 and £750 plus another £50 for students living in London.

Student grants are costing the Government £200m a year and any further increase will add between £40m and £50m to the bill.

Council launches first European community scheme

Students from four British technical colleges will be going to France and Germany towards the end of the year to take part in the first community education project abroad run by the Central Bureau for educational visits and exchanges.

Described as a sandwich course in broader horizons, the scheme will take students from 18 to 25 years of age and is specifically directed towards the academically less well qualified. Those chosen will be well thought of as likely to benefit from the experience. Aptitude for languages will not be a factor in the choice. The scheme will include those at technical colleges rather than polytechnics and academic dropouts will be eligible.

After a preliminary period of orientation, two groups of six students will go to Cologne this autumn for a period of six to eight months where they will be found jobs in department stores, shops, offices and hospitals. They will have regular group meetings and will be expected to undertake projects in their area.

The Central Bureau this week announced this year's range of publications, including Working Holidays at Home and Abroad, Young Visitors to Britain, 1975 and the spring issue of Higher Education Exchange.

Devolution in education to be discussed

To mark the tenth year of its publication, The Times Educational Supplement Scotland is sponsoring a one day conference on devolution in education.

The conference will be on Saturday, June 14, from 9.30 a.m. to 5.0 p.m. and Edinburgh University is making the George Square Theatre available for the occasion.

Kodak endows chair

A chair of interface science has been endowed at Imperial College, London, by Kodak Limited. The chair will be established in the college's department of chemical engineering and chemical technology, and its field of study will be concerned with the interfaces that occur between solids, liquids and gases.

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Four universities urged to apply for new law schools

The universities of East Anglia, Lancaster, York and Essex have been told by the University Grants Committee that they should include proposals for law schools in their 1977/78 quinquennial submissions.

The UGC survey for 1973/74, published this week, says that although expansion of the present law schools would meet the needs of the legal profession, the need for law places should not be limited only by that consideration.

It says: "In view of the strong demand for places in law, the working party considered there was a case for further expansion and room within it for the establishment of some new law schools."

It warns, however, that the four universities can only have law schools if demand for places remains strong and if plans for 1981-82 do not have to be drastically revised.

In a survey, which is chiefly a catalogue of the continuing measures the committee has taken to save off financial disasters in the universities over the past two years, the UGC records that at the beginning of the autumn term, 1973, there were 198,572 full-time undergraduates in British universities and 1,156 postgraduates. This marked an increase of 1.6 per cent on the comparable figure for autumn, 1972.

Working relations between teaching and non-teaching staff are at risk because of the disparity between their salaries, the administrative staff at Sheffield Polytechnic warn in their annual report for 1974.

"Under the Houghton proposals the most senior administrative post is now equated with a senior lecturer and administrative assistants with across the board responsibilities are operating on salaries comparable with the initial points on the scale for grade one lecturers," the report says.

"The excellent working relationships established between teaching and non-teaching staff at all levels in the polytechnic must be at risk while substantial salary differentials remain."

Salaries are adversely affecting recruitment and explains the continued failure to recruit a personnel officer, it says.

But the report notes that the flow of applicants from teaching, commerce and student union administration for the post of administrative assistant was still great.

Industrial vacancies up 22.8 per cent

Analysis of SCOEG survey of graduate vacancies for 1976, by industry

Industry

Number of vacancies

1974 actual

1975 forecast

Percentage increase/decrease 1975 over 1974

Agriculture, forestry and fishing

Mining and quarrying

Food, drink and tobacco

Coal and petroleum

Chemical and allied industries

Metal manufacture

Mechanical engineering

Instrument engineering

Electrical engineering

Shipbuilding and marine engineering

Vehicles

Metal goods

Textiles

Leather, leather goods and fur

Clothing and footwear

Bricks, pottery, glass, cement

It goes on to say that the projected figure at the time of the quinquennial settlement was 2.8 per cent higher.

At the same time there were 3,669 professors, 6,813 readers and senior lecturers and 19,173 lecturers and assistant lecturers.

The survey records that high alumina cement has been used in the construction of more than 70 university buildings and the Bennett Building at Leicester University began to collapse in June, 1973, the first British building to suffer damage through the use of the cement.

The survey notes that new procedures have been established to allow both the universities and the committee to match the provision of buildings to student numbers.

The survey notes: "With the aid of the new procedure it should be possible for the committee to carry out its responsibilities, for the development of the universities as a whole, more effectively, more flexibly and with a better knowledge of the implications of each decision."

At the same time, the new system should make it possible to leave considerably more freedom to the universities to plan individual projects in their own way, without detailed prescription of areas and functions by means of UGC "forms".

Cmd 6034, HMSO, 26p.

Harmony at risk in row over poly pay differentials

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Stanley Hewett: able altruist in era of college decline

by David Hencke

Mr Stanley Hewett, general secretary of the Association of Teachers in Colleges and Departments of Education and a key figure in the reorganization of teacher training, collapsed and died in his office last Thursday.

Mr Hewett, who was 49, had served his association for five years. Tributes from friends and colleagues this week praised his distinguished and altruistic service, his ability and humanity. A memorial meeting is being arranged in London by the ATCDE and the London University Institute of Education.

His death has come as a shock to all who knew and worked with him. Although he was facing a difficult task in negotiating the future of 155 colleges and the 11,000 staff, he had shown no signs of strain and talked confidently of a new era for the teacher training profession.

Mr Hewett was the son of an Oxfordshire estate worker. He was educated at Thame Grammar School and held teaching posts in London primary and secondary schools after training at Borough Road College, Islington and Carnegie College, Leeds.

He took up his first lecturing post in physical education at the College of St Mark and St John, Chelsea when he was only 25. He spent three years studying part-time at Birkbeck College, London University and graduated with a first class honours degree in English.

A close friend described him as a "brilliant student, full of bonhomie. He had absolute purity, great friendliness, industry, a droll sense of humour and was a brilliant raconteur."

In 1960 Mr Hewett moved to Nottingham College of Education as a senior lecturer in English. He became principal lecturer and head of department the following year and took an active part in the ATCDE.

Mr Malcolm Lee, chairman of the ATCDE, who was also a member of the same branch, remembers Mr Hewett as a person who already stood out among his colleagues for his grasp of detail and knowledge of complicated issues.

It was quite clear at that time that Mr Hewett was a potential chairman of the association," he said.

In 1970 he became the association's general secretary at a time of great expansion in teacher training places. But instead of negotiating the continued expansion of teacher education, he found himself with the difficult task of negotiating its decline. Yet his calm and ability became more apparent as his task became more difficult. Many of his colleagues saw in the association's evidence to James, and in detailed negotiations with the DES, Mr Hewett's flair for detail and skill in negotiating solutions in difficult circumstances.

The Times described Mr Hewett as a distinguished professional who would be remembered for his intellectual gifts, his accomplished and skilful riposte.

"He was a remarkable man. He served his association and his teaching profession with unselfish devotion."

Mr Alan Evans said: "His untimely death will be a great blow to all of us in teacher education. Those who worked with him in the field could not fail to be impressed by his grasp of the major issues and his facility for detail."

"There is no doubt that he will be remembered as a man who had the courage to pursue his educational policies however unpopular and unpopular they might be. He was convinced that they were correct for teacher education."

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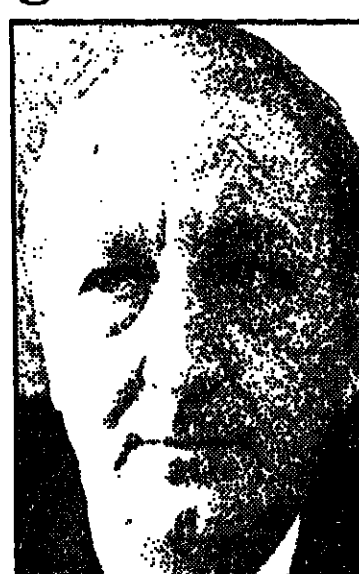
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New SRC research scheme will aid 'outstanding' academics

by David Dickson
Science Correspondent

The Science Research Council is to launch a new senior fellowship scheme for outstanding academics to devote themselves to full-time research for up to five years, free from normal duties.

The council has also decided to give more support to research in areas of national importance which have not yet proved attractive to academics.

These decisions were announced in evidence presented last week to the science subcommittee of the House of Commons Select Committee on Science and Technology, which is studying the financing of scientific research in British universities.

The evidence forms part of a memorandum submitted jointly by the SRC, the Agricultural Research Council, the Medical Research Council and the Natural Environment Research Council.

The councils say that reduction of money available for research, and the decision to leave vacancies unfilled, make it increasingly difficult for universities to play their full research role.

"There is pressure, which may be expected to increase, for the research councils to bear a greater part of the total cost of university

research without diminution of the general funds which universities receive from the UGC," they say.

"To the extent that the research councils agree to do this the volume of research in universities made possible by council funds will decrease."

The research councils say that it is not possible to separate inflation from the consequences of change from rapid expansion in the 1960s to the recent slower rate of growth.

The present inability of universities to fill academic and technical posts as they fall vacant has prevented them taking over posts initially financed by research councils.

"This has reduced the amount of research possible with a given level of research council expenditure. So too has the recent tendency of universities to seek supplementary grants for rises in costs of research which, a few years ago, they would have covered from their own funds," the councils say.

"The effect of these factors is difficult to quantify but the clear impression of the research councils is that they have led to a reduction in the volume and pace of academic research."

In a separate statement, the Medical Research Council says that it faces a serious developing prob-

lem of providing a viable career structure for research scientists.

Research posts in both the universities and the MRC are now in a steady state, and the number of career opportunities is determined by those retiring from the system, the council says.

"It seems unlikely that people will be prepared to undertake temporary postdoctoral appointments or fellowships unless there is at least a one-in-two chance of a career involving research," it says.

"This could mean only one postdoctoral assistant or fellow to three to five academic staff. There is evidence that the present number of assistants is higher than can be accommodated and a fall to such a level could reduce the total amount of medical research done."

Mr R. St John Walker, the SRC secretary, said the level of postgraduate awards was causing concern, especially in engineering.

Adequate grants would be 25-30 per cent above the present level, in line with wage settlements this year, he said. He thought that grants weighted in favour of older students would be beneficial. There was general agreement among the research councils that there was no other way of persuading more graduates to come forward: "Graduates can do very well in industry with only a first degree."

Protest over Huddersfield poly plan

Kirklees education authority is drafting a strong reply to the Department of Education and Science's proposals to end initial teacher training courses at Huddersfield Polytechnic by 1978.

A statement from Dr Stewart Armstrong, deputy rector of the polytechnic, said: "Great concern has been expressed at the recommendation which, if pursued, would mean dismantling, after five years, a very successful merger with Oastler College of Education at a time when others of a similar kind are being actively promoted elsewhere."

Dr Armstrong emphasized that student entry this September is not affected by the proposals although the Leeds University certificate of education course will be phased out after this year.

The polytechnic has recently received approval for a new Council for National Academic Awards BEd in combined studies and a BSc in science and education and will admit its first students on these courses this September.

The polytechnic's large interest in the training of further education lecturers at Huddersfield is unaffected by the proposals.

Mr Thomas Polytechnic and Avery Hill College of Education have started talks on a programme of academic cooperation.

The college succeeded in retaining an independent institution last year, but the CNAA was unable to approve proposals for a new humanities degree.

Discussions between the polytechnic and the college include the possibilities of Avery Hill Diploma of Higher Education students transferring to degree courses at the polytechnic and a jointly staffed applied social sciences degree.

'Switch engineering bias to poly-type training'

More engineers should have polytechnic-type rather than university-type education, Lord Hinton of Banksdale, Chancellor of the University of Bath, said this week.

Giving the university's vocation lecture, Lord Hinton, formerly chairman of the Central Electricity Generating Board, said it was not science but science-based technology that caused industry to prosper.

"Are we training engineers as well as we did in the past? Are we attaching too much importance to advanced and sophisticated theory in training young engineers while neglecting the practical side?" he asked.

"Would we do better if we gave a polytechnic type of training to a

Give girls more vocational guidance says report

More effective and widespread educational and vocational guidance is needed before the age of 16 if girls are to have the same opportunities as boys, a department of Education and Science survey of curricular differences for boys and girls recommends.

The survey, published last week, is chiefly about schools but includes a section on further education. It says that at this level most of the problems are due to the low level of aspiration on the part of many girls, the type and level of employment which they seek, and society's low expectations for women in career terms which in turn limit the ambitions of individual girls.

Reviewing the present situation the survey says that of full-time students, who largely study as a matter of individual choice, there is a markedly greater proportion of girls than boys at the age of 16, and that even at 18, there are only 10 per cent of boys and 15 per cent of girls in the arts. On G.C.E. "O" level courses there are slightly more girls than boys but the reverse is true at "A" level.

On part-time or block-release courses, however, which largely depend on the goodwill of employers, four to five times as many men as women attend. This reflects an attitude in traditional fields of employment.

Curricular Differences for Boys and Girls, Education Survey 21, Stationery Office, 41p.

Poly-sixth form college link

Birmingham Polytechnic has agreed to validate 15 courses for a local sixth-form college in what is believed to be a unique experiment in academic planning between a higher education institution and a school.

Students taking two GCE advanced level subjects at Solihull Sixth Form College last September started a series of supplementary courses which the school hoped would lead to a certificate awarded by the polytechnic.

Mr Arthur Frankland, principal of the college said: "Just as the Council for National Academic Awards validates courses run by Birmingham Polytechnic, the polytechnic will act as the validating body for the courses at our college."

Academics at Birmingham Polytechnic help design the syllabus, monitor course developments and standards and act as external examiners. The school had a CNAA style "visitation" on Tuesday to discuss course developments.

Mr Frankland explained that the college approached the polytechnic because they wanted to be able to offer an academic course above the standard of O levels which would help students keen to enter higher education.

"We thought that O level standard was too low and the Certificate of Extended Education was unsuitable. The nearest concept to our type of courses is the mode three certificate of Secondary Education course, which is designed by the school and validated by an external body."

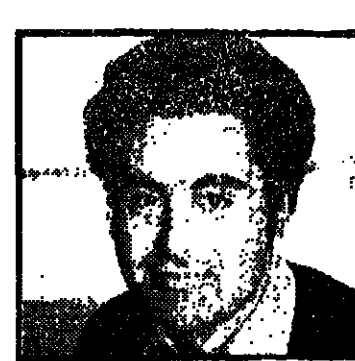
Each student will take two supplementary courses and will have a wide choice.

Start local TV and end copyright, Annan urged

A new system of local and regional television is recommended in evidence presented by a body representing educational broadcasters to the Annan committee on the future of broadcasting.

The National Educational Closed Circuit Television Association also argues for the lifting of copyright restrictions on broadcast material so it could be copied and disseminated by local television groups.

PhD students should avoid the 'four Cs'



IVOR CREWE

Every year at about this time I am approached by a few of my brightest students whose spring thoughts have turned to a PhD; and every year I tussle with the same doubts.

On the one hand, it hardly seems proper to discourage commitment and scholarship. And then there are rewards for the ego: my "own" students, who have come to share my intellectual interests, seek my advice, display their dependence and, in effect, offer themselves as sounding boards and willing drudges for my research ideas. PhD theses are an extension of self through others.

On the other hand, each year I find it more difficult to believe in the value of a PhD as a *rite de passage* into the world of academic teaching and research.

The drawbacks of taking on a doctorate are familiar enough: lack of proper research training, the probability of drop-out, financial sacrifice, unreliable supervision, and loneliness.

My own statistically unsupported impression is that on balance these problems have got slightly worse in recent years. There is nothing to suggest that the wage rate has diminished in the decade since Rudd and Hatch's survey in *Graduate Study and After*.

The salary forfeited by the doctoral student is in no way compensated later. Obtaining a PhD is rarely rewarded by extra increments. Industry and the Civil Service have become positively discouraging to PhD holders in non-science subjects; whilst the universities can offer no more than a minimum salary on the third grade of the lecturer scale for those aged 26, a level that most non-PhD lecturers would have reached and probably passed by that age anyway.

But even if these problems disappeared, doubts might still be raised about the intellectual value of the PhD as constituted at present. The argument in favour of spending four or so years on a narrow slice of reality is that only in this way can the student come both to understand and overcome the problems of advancing knowledge. This is usually spiced with observations about the spiritual worthiness of the enterprise (were the origins of the doctorate not in the medieval church, one might regard it as the most perfect product of the Protestant ethic).

But the truth is rather that the formal requirements of the PhD encourage the extension of some types of knowledge at the expense of others. In my own subject of politics, for example, my supervisor knows very well that certain topics and approaches are inherently less risky than others, but also that they are often the least exciting or important intellectually.

If an aspiring doctoral candidate will insist on what is usually misnamed political theory, then let it be a straightforward history of ideas or, better still, an exposition on some minor political writer, rather than an attempt actually to theorise.

If the field is international relations, he should stick to a manageable chunk of diplomatic history. If the British political system, the passage of a piece of legislation or the activities of a small pressure group are usually safe bets. The trick is to ensure that the bulk of the thesis material is library based and not scattered. If nobody has got round to sifting the well-organized description should suffice. But what our candidate must avoid are the four Cs: concepts, comparisons, conclusions, and commonplaces.

As a test of stamina, thoroughness, attention to detail and organization of material, the PhD is splendid. But those intellectual qualities which tend to come in short, brilliant bursts—from imagination and experimentation to formal and mathematical rigour—are hardly displayed to their best advantage by the PhD's format. The "original contribution" that doctorates are officially required to make tends to be to knowledge rather than to thought.

The other research to suffer is the large-scale quantitative study. The stipulation that a thesis be "all his own work" effectively precludes the major interview survey as a research approach. The most energetic graduate may manage 100 or so interviews, but with the twin disadvantages of consuming too much non-intellectual time and of still producing too few cases for more than the simplest of analysis. Most make do with postal surveys, which usually produce poor response rates on a meagre questionnaire. In short, the PhD would not be an ethnomethodologist's dream.

Some serious thinking needs to be done about reforming the social science doctorate. A start might be made by examining afresh the question of employing doctoral students in university-based research projects. The potential advantages to the PhD student are really very considerable. Supervision would come to mean more than a one-on-one chat but regular research work for and alongside senior staff.

topic, from which the British PhD system suffers. A glance at the Social Science Research Council's annual list of political science theses shows that two types of research are penalized particularly badly. One is critical or creative theorizing, a rare and demanding enterprise at the best of times, but not encouraged by formal or informal requirements of length and comprehensiveness.

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The "craft" of research would be learned on the job rather than by blind and desperate instinct. Instead of being thrown in at the deep end, the graduate student would be given the chance to immerse himself gently. The loneliness of the long-distance graduate would be relieved by working with fellow-graduates on the same project. The risk of failing to produce is much less, because the responsibility for designing and research and collecting the material would fall on collective and senior shoulders. And as a research assistant the graduate's income would be higher than on SSRC expenditure on research students.

The well known objection to such a scheme is that the student lays himself open to exploitation as an underpaid and unacknowledged producer of papers for his seniors. That indeed is a real danger. But this is not a new problem. It is a danger which attaches to research in all conditions attached to grants can reduce its incidence, it is unlikely to disappear.

But most social science PhD students are at present over-used and under-paid as teachers, often in universities where the research is not so much a means to an end as a condition attached to grants can reduce its incidence, it is unlikely to disappear.

It is also argued that theses derived from collective research projects break the rule about individual authorship. But this is unrealistic for the social sciences where the growing scale and sophistication of empirical studies have made the single authorship in this area the exception.

In this respect the organization of empirical research is closer to that of the natural sciences, and forms of doctorate designed for the library-based scholar in the humanities are no longer necessarily appropriate.

A more fundamental change would be to replace the present format of the PhD altogether, from marathon to decaathlon. Instead of providing the authoritative treatment of a single and dry topic, the PhD candidate would be required to produce, say, four research papers, of publishable quality, covering disparate aspects of the discipline such that a variety of research skills and intellectual modes were displayed.

A political scientist or sociologist PhD might consist of a piece of quantitative analysis, a textual exercise, some empirical theorizing, and so on. A thesis of this type would be no easier or faster to obtain, but be superior as a training in research. Failure could be mitigated by the opportunity to publish what has been produced. And boredom would

Don's diary

Blissful ignorance

Up early to catch a little plane to Birmingham, en route to Aberystwyth. I make the mistake of sitting next to the pilot, it really is best not to know that the radiolocation equipment insists we are always two miles from Norwich, while the sudden flash of a red warning light tells me to one, and so on. No doubt the perpetuation of these myths makes for peace and stability within a university, in which case our visits must at times leave a trail of new areas for argument.

After a hurried check there is only moderate reassurance in the pilot's "The don's alright, it's the light that's faulty." Until then I had been relaxing, since for both engines the dials carried pleasant messages of high oil pressures and low cylinder-head temperatures. Clearly it is all on a par with "You can't believe everything you read in the newspapers."

Cloudy always feel that a geographer should get half his money back if he cannot see a view from the window. A few weeks ago I did the same trip with a dusting of snow on the ground and not a cloud in the sky. The traverse at 4,000 feet across the northern edge of Breckland, the Fens with its flooded washlands, and the Northamptonshire uplands was quite beautiful, and at the same time full of geographical meaning—and that has an intellectual beauty all of its own.

The inaccessibility of Norwich preserves its attractiveness, but there are times when I have to remind myself of this rather forcibly as I travel east-west by train or road. My return from Angmering, one well over seven hours, takes four of them in a hot, rolling, shaking two-coach diesel—and I would not have done any better by road. But this morning the narrow roads of Norfolk slip away beneath the plane, and as we cross the busy north-south corridor of the A1 and the old Great Northern line, and the M1 and the Crewe mainline, it is clear that only a few of us want to cross the country from east to west.

Spice of variety

Since joining the University Grants Committee last summer my trips away from East Anglia have become a good deal more frequent. Indeed in the last few weeks each term I spend more days in other universities than I do in my own.

It is always interesting to visit other places; the common problems of finance and an unusual uncertainty about the future overshadow us all more than in our own universities. But the variety of practice and response which is part of the vigour of our universities.

Quite apart from the role of the UGC between the universities and the government, the willingness of universities in Britain to involve outsiders as examiners, advisers on senior appointments and so on, makes for an interchange of experience that must be a major factor in the consistently high standards of our universities.

The pecking order of academic subjects used to be fairly well fixed. Over the last few years, changing patterns of student choice have started to undermine some of the foundations of this pecking order. Long-established subjects in high regard find themselves short of students and in no position to argue that frozen posts should be filled.

I sat in a regional meeting of science departments and met a familiar pattern. The declining student demand in chemistry and physics is causing a search for more choice in courses, both within and beyond the subject. In contrast the earth sciences find themselves with a more buoyant demand, and this often seems to be frustrated by the limited ability of a small department to acquire new resources, especially at a time when money is scarce.

At times I wonder if we should not go into business as an itinerant seminar on the techniques of university committee membership, instead of this polite fencing about how far the UGC might persuade univer-

equivalent of Y with touches of a concept foreign to the rigidity of a percentage scale. Nor does he seem to have met the prediction of mathematicians that marks exceeding 100 per cent, a real hazard for examiners in course unit structures.

Where and what?

When I went to the University of East Anglia in 1967 I accepted the one firm requirement, the label environmental sciences. It seemed a fair exchange for the freedom to establish whatever I wished as the role and scope of a new school.

The term has prospered as far as the school is concerned, and I think we have a good reputation for environmental sciences, but it does not survive transfer to me. Not that I am sorry to be called a geographer, although as I tour around, disguised for UGC purposes as a physical scientist or as chairman of the agriculture and veterinary sub-committee, I detect an air of surprise in the inevitable opening remark: "I hear you are a geographer."

Despite its current popularity and the success of its students in getting jobs, geography remains low in our academic pecking order and is found in few of our new universities, since who but a geographer would want to promote its cause? I am reminded of a succession of sad, painful, after-dinner speeches from vice-chancellors and pro-vice-chancellors alike at the annual conference of the Institute of British Geographers.

None seemed to know what geographers these days might do, none seemed to have bothered to ask their own geographers staff. I know the public expect me to know the capital of Maryland and the population of Peru, but somehow our senior colleagues ought to know better.

Higher and further

Not all my week away has been spent on UGC business. It is difficult to fit in other outside activities, but I am reluctant to cut them out completely. On Monday I visit one of the field centres of the Field Study Council, and chair a meeting of the academic sub-committee. On Friday I am at a meeting of the East Anglia Economic Planning Council, keeping up a university involvement in the region and its future. Two geographers here—does the Department of the Environment realize what it is doing?

Keith Clayton

The author is professor of environmental sciences at the University of East Anglia.

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Servants or masters?

How the civil servants rule British education

'A permanent officialdom becomes a power in its own right. A British department composed of professional civil servants who have watched the ministers come and go is an entity that only an extremely foolish or powerful politician will persistently challenge or ignore.'

THE PLANNING PROCESS

Introduction

The planning in which a governmental body engages is not explicable in the abstract. It is intelligible only in relation to national institutions and habits and to an historical experience. Nowhere is this more obviously the case than in the United Kingdom, where government is conducted within a setting of understandings, restraints, and mutual forbearances that can only in part be codified. In Britain it is the habit of most people, high and low, to refer to "the long history" behind any social practice under scrutiny. Sometimes, in fact, the history is a relatively short one. Nevertheless, a significant principle lies behind this phrase, even though it is normally left implicit.

It is meant to suggest that a society has organic qualities, that abstract schematisms cannot be imposed upon it without running great risks, and that if its institutions are to be managed successfully they must be approached from the inside, not the outside, felt in their concreteness and particularity, and understood as arrangements which people have worked out in the course of a common experience and which accomplish purposes too subtle to be written into a master plan.

Accordingly, it is best for people inside an institution to decide what to do with it, and it is always dangerous for outsiders to meddle. This is certainly true for people completely outside the society. But it is true even for the relations of a governing class to those it governs. A government must not results but it must do so without intruding into or disturbing the structures and habits of its subjects' intimate lives.

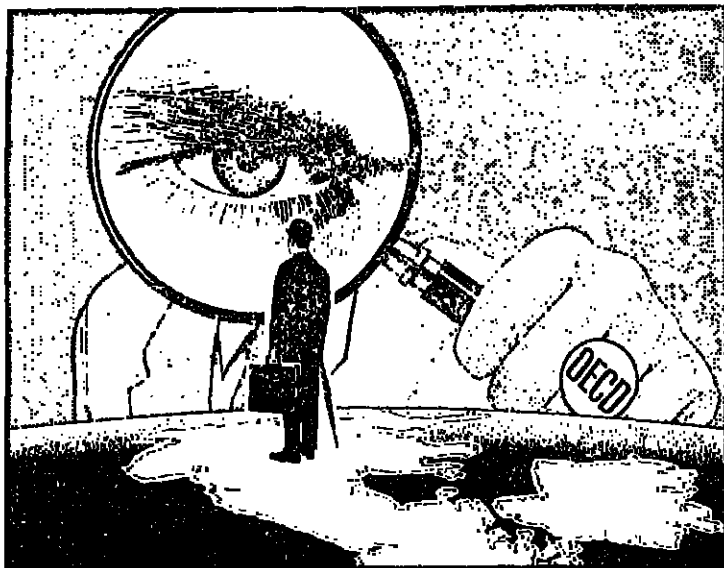
It has been in these terms that the British constitutional tradition has largely evolved, and that the British conception of limited government has been formulated. In the eyes of most observers outside the British Isles, this approach to the part of government constituted the essence of the British political genius. There are very few countries in the West—perhaps none in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development—which, at some crucial point in their history, have not turned to British political philosophy and practice for instruction. Yet the British concept of limited government is not the only reason why British political institutions are objects of universal interest.

Britain is also the creator of a powerful Civil Service, and has pioneered for more than a century the public examination of social problems and the attempt to use the tools of scientific investigation, law and central government to find remedies for them. It is the country of Locke and Burke, but also of Bentham and Chadwick, the Mills and the Fabians. And since the second world war it has been actively engaged in nationalisation of key industries and services and in centralised planning.

There is nothing in the British tradition like the Napoleonic idea of treating the education of a nation as though it were a problem in centrally organising the distribution of power and recruiting and preserving an official class. The British have been attempting to allocate limited resources to serve goals which involve the fairly thorough reorganising from bottom to top of their national educational structures. And although there is perhaps less enthusiasm in Britain than elsewhere to envisage the transformation of human nature by new methods of pedagogy, the British have not lagged in the development and testing of new pedagogical methods and curricular designs. Modesty in the statement of educational purpose has been joined to accomplishment in educational practice.

For these reasons, an analysis of the educational planning process in Great Britain is of unusual interest as a case study. Fundamental choices and dilemmas that planners face in most democratic countries are alluded to in the British instance. In a single package are combined a sophisticated planning approach and a resilient tradition of limited government.

In this setting planners must lead but they



professional, and also at all times in the service of the political figure who heads the Department of Education and Science. They must resist the temptation and definitely avoid giving the impression of an attempt to control the content of education or the ultimate purposes lying behind its design. Yet they must allocate resources in accordance with some conception of national priorities and possibilities, and the line between doing this and making decisions about the goals of education is not everywhere clear.

The power of the Department of Education and Science. The educational planning process in Great Britain is part of a larger process. The result can be described either as a dominant force or as a subtle blend of mutually supporting virtues.

At the start one is confronted by the position of the DES in the web of organisations and agencies that have educational responsibilities in the United Kingdom. It is true to say both that it has extremely limited authority and that it has great power. Although it bears the central responsibility for educational planning in the United Kingdom, and although it devises the overall plan, in so far as any exists, and takes such steps as lie within its powers to see that the plan is fulfilled, the mission of the department is nevertheless a restricted one. Not only do Scotland and Wales receive their educational allocations through the special Ministries for Scotland and Wales, but, more largely, the department is prohibited from determining the content of education anywhere in the United Kingdom.

The Government meets 60 per cent of the costs of primary, secondary and further education, but the department must leave to the local education authorities the final decision as to the way in which the monies it dispenses will be spent. In relation to institutions like the universities, the department's authority is similarly but even further restricted. It provides funds to the autonomous University Grants Committee, but the decisions concerning the distribution of these funds.

Even with regard to the need to provide for a measure of educational mobility and standardisation in the United Kingdom as a whole, it is not the department but autonomous professional bodies which make the direct decisions relative to curricula, professional standards, and the content of examinations. Within this network of local authorities, autonomous committees and professional organisations, the department gives guidance but, except in certain specific areas defined by statute, it has little power of direct command.

In the distribution of resources, for instance, it seeks to obtain a fair balance through persuasion and by indirect pressures on local authorities, rather than by direct fiat. A large consensus on a second best solution is preferred to an assumed optimum obtained under direct centralised control. This policy is characteristic of British political practice in general, but it is nowhere more evident than in the sensitive area of education, which touches the family and traditional mores intimately.

It should be noted, however, that this decentralisation does not automatically signify a high level of participation in the administration and control of the system. The resulting virtual immunity of head teachers from external control, combined with the "liberal pluralism" referred to above, allows victory initiatives to exist side by side with the mere tradition of arrangements.

This, however, is only one side of the coin. The actual powers of the DES are nonetheless considerable. Since the Government is the largest single source of educational financing in Britain, the department's advice commands attention in any case, but it has powers that run beyond the purely advisory. It has direct control over capital expenditures at the local

to the direction of educational growth. Further, its consent is required by statute in every case in which a local authority wishes to introduce or change a course at advanced level, to build a school or to close or change the character of an existing secondary school, for example by converting it from a grammar school into a comprehensive school.

The department also controls both the size norms and the price limits for school building. This latter is an area, it should be noted, where major innovations and economies have been achieved in the rationalising of school building provision accomplished by the developmental work of the architects and building branch of the department.

These powers, taken together with the general context of the Rate Support Grant System under which local education authorities receive their subsidies from the central government (averaging 58 per cent of educational expenditure in 1971/2) and the control over the total supply and the allocation of teachers, show up the important role played by economic reasoning and resource control (both positive and negative) exercised from the centre in the orientation of educational action at local levels.

They are enhanced by the fact that the ministry which possesses them is staffed by a corps of permanent civil servants, well-trained and experienced in practical efficiency. However restricted their jurisdiction, seemingly, may be, they do not waste what power they have. They exercise, in consequence, influence over the evolution of educational policy in their country at least equal to that of ministries of education that enjoy far more sweeping constitutional authority.

In sum, although the powers of government with regard to educational planning are formally limited, and British planning does not go so far as to be described even as "indicative planning," the central Department of Education and Science is undoubtedly the most important single force in determining the direction and tempo of educational development.

It must adjust to economic and budgetary stringencies (such as those which led to the sharp cuts in December, 1973), to opinion, the educational and political worlds, and to the pressures of organised interest groups, most particularly the teachers. But the evolution of education in the United Kingdom cannot be charted without placing the planning function of the department at the centre of the story.

The bureaucracy. Further attention must be given to a particular characteristic of the planning process in the United Kingdom which invites and yet transcends the term "paradox." This is the role played by the Civil Service.

The permanent officials of the DES in the tradition of British civil servants, are non-political in their function. In no country, it is safe to say, does the Civil Service govern itself more closely by a code of loyalty to whatever government is in power. The protections in the British system against the Civil Service's being captured by a political party go very far.

An OECD examination of the DES conducted by the eminent educationists



Mr Maurice Niveau, left, Rector of the University of Grenoble, Mr Charles Frankel, right, Professor of Philosophy, Columbia University, and Herr Reimut Jochemsen, Secretary of State in the Ministry for Education and Science, Federal German Republic.

their individual merits, not their political allegiances.

But there has been a by-product. A permanent officialdom possessing such external protections and internal disciplines becomes a power in its own right. A British department composed of professional civil servants who have watched the ministers come and go is an entity that only an extremely foolish or powerful politician will persistently challenge or ignore.

The prestige, acquaintanceships, and natural authority of leading civil servants give them a standing in the civil forum often superior to that of their *de jure* political superiors. They are, in the continental phrase, *notables*, whose opinions must be given special weight, whether or not votes in the next election will be affected.

There has also to be taken into account the momentum of thought and action within a department composed of career officials who have long known one another, who have the same training and prospects, and who work within a common tradition and point of view. An essential part of their ethos is to serve their "political masters." They interpret this as imposing upon them the obligation to remain at all times sensitive to the changing realities of political pressures and to endeavour to identify in all situations a social consensus as to the priority issues towards which policy planning could be directed.

Accordingly, it is a simplification to describe the planning process in the DES as a purely technical affair in which resources are canvassed and strategic alternatives weighed, but decisions about ends and goals are nearly partitioned off, and left to the politicians, the electorate, and the civic consensus. It is equally simplification, of course, to say that planning is entirely the Civil Service's doing.

For example, the White Paper under scrutiny in this examination bears the impress of the views on priorities, for example, nursery education and basic schooling, held by the Secretary of State under whom it was written. It further bears the impress of long-accepted goals in the United Kingdom such as the raising of the school-leaving age to 16—something the British of all political complexions have contemplated since the second world war and which was in fact envisaged in the Education Act of 1944.

Written under a Conservative minister it received initial criticism by the Labour Party as a statement of overall educational policy; none the less this does not appear to conflict with the decision of the Labour Government to implement the main proposals contained in it. The immediate instrument of continuity was the permanent officialdom of the Department of Education and Science.

The inertial power of historically enshrined goals and the power of bureaucracies to guide the policies of their political masters are facts of life in all democracies, and in no democracies as well. The phenomenon of Civil Service predominance in educational planning is in fact partly attributable to the circumstance that the role they play in planning the DES remains within the confines set for them by law and their professional code. Their influence, like that of venerated scholars or judges, derives from their justified reputation for neutrality and professional integrity. It is not, as some say, that they become powerful by seeking not to be powerful. But this does not make the role they play in planning any the less decisive. They do not make the plan in answer to their own beliefs and desires alone. But neither do they make it simply as passive respondents to the political process or the general will of the community.

In sum, the cohesiveness of the department and its enduring presence results in a continuity which provides a solid base and a guarantee of some stability to the other interests involved in the formulation and implementation of educational policy. On the other hand, the very clarity of its defined role has certain other implications to which we return later in this report.

Characteristics of planning

Other features of the revealed structures and habits of British government are also pertinent to a consideration of educational planning as it takes shape in the United Kingdom. One of these, which is bound to strike the eye of observers from the outside, is the comparatively private character of the department's deliberations regarding the plan.

The examiners have had the privilege of reviewing documents and studies (particularly the *Programme Analysis and Review on Higher Education and Schools Expenditure*) that give the evidence for the factual propositions on which the White Paper is based, that rehearse in careful detail the options considered by the department, and that suggest the grounds for its final decisions. To us—and we repeat that we are acutely aware that we speak as outsiders—it seems that these excellently reasoned analyses would, if released, demonstrate to the public that the department has gone about its planning tasks in an unusually responsible way.

The habits of British government preclude letting down the bars of confidentiality, but it cannot be doubted that groups outside the department believe that departmental decision-making is not conducted sufficiently in the open, and, moreover, that secrecy at central levels may impair the coordination between central and local administration.

The separation of the planning process from other forms of supervision and control is also worthy of note. No standing committee of Parliament exists to which the department reports. Nor are there formal institutions of consultation requiring officers of the department regularly to exchange views with the various constituencies affected by their plans or to defend their decisions against criticism. Where basic questions of the plan are concerned, the principal means of consultation are informal, and are largely determined by the department's view of its needs.

The feeling exists strongly within the department that when it comes to planning leading to policy decisions for which resources have to be secured and allocated, such informal methods, utilised by sensitive and fair-minded government servants, are superior to highly structured formal procedures which invite half-baked and politically sectarian opinions, and encourage demagoguery, confrontation, and publicity battles, leading to a lot of waste of time.

Widespread consultation could be more profitably applied to a different kind of planning input, as has been the case with the major educational reports of the 1960s and 1970s—Crowther, Newsom, Robbins, Plowden, James and Russell—an unpretentious series of analyses and statements which constituted a formative influence on general attitudes on the most important issues in educational objectives and philosophy.

This feeling may be well grounded, but the fact remains that the United Kingdom offers an example of educational planning in which the structures for ensuring public participation are limited. This has at least two consequences. One is that in certain cases policy is less likely to be understood and therefore less likely to be wholeheartedly accepted when the processes which lead up to its formulation are guarded as arcane secrets. The second is that goals and priorities, once established, may go on being taken for granted and hence escape the regular scrutiny which may be necessary for an appropriate realignment of policy.

This latter consequence is discernible in the White Paper's posture of acquiescence towards existing goals. The method of planning it evinces, as it sets forth its programme for the allocation of resources, directed towards effecting incremental improvements within existing structures, derives from the assumption that the basic directions of educational development are largely foreclosed; determined, one infers, by historical circumstances, demographic trends, and changes in public attitudes.

Demographic trends and changes in educational preference are projected five or ten years ahead. General guidance is taken from the educational community's "consensus" on good educational practice. A judgment about the overall movement of opinion in the country at large—for example, that policy should be skewed in favour of the disadvantaged—is made, and the result of that judgment introduced as a premise for the plan.

Finally, the probable availability of resources and funds is canvassed.

It lies beyond the province of the authors of the paper to query basic goals or new directions in education, except, perhaps, insofar as they create compelling claims on resources or lead to financially unreasonable

'In British educational planning the structures for ensuring public participation are limited'



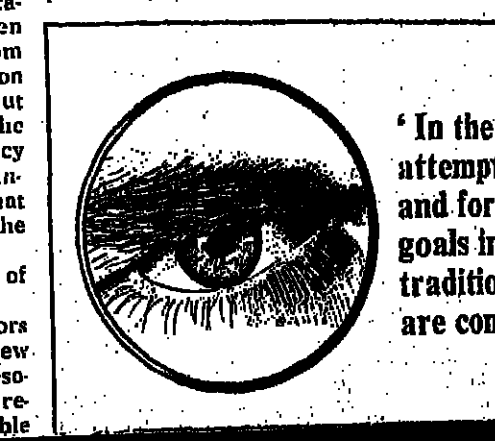
Nursery or 16-19 age groups: which should take precedence?

expectations. The question of the role of policy planning in appraising the controlling structures and purposes of an educational system and in initiating structural change rather than merely following or extrapolating existing trends thus presents itself as a major issue in this examination.

This method of planning has persisted even though in the 1960s, as Britain reached many of its post-war educational goals and began to taste greater material prosperity, educational discussion came to be significantly influenced by competing educational philosophies and ideologies and by political divisions in society at large. It persists, undoubtedly, not only by force of habit but because it reflects the professional belief that the appraisal of basic ends and goals is not a proper business for a non-political planning group. Underlying this belief there may also be the classic notion that if intermediate goals are sensibly sorted out, ultimate goals will take care of themselves.

It is redundant to say that these ideas conceal much wisdom. Nevertheless, a great variety of planning strategies exist that lie between the passive absorption of the Zeitgeist and the laying down of a master plan for the rebuilding of society. Planners may, for example, take note of incongruities between emerging problems and the received educational assumptions and structures employed to deal with them. They may set forth, from their professional point of view, alternative hypotheses for dealing with such problems, even while leaving the ultimate choice, needless to say, to political leaders and the electorate.

In the United Kingdom, for example, the social costs of deciding to expand nursery education as against attempting to create new facilities to provide for the 16-19 age group are relevant matters for analysis and weighing. A fundamental question for the present examination is whether this kind of analysis and weighing should have a place in the planning process, and we proceed in this light to a consideration of the White Paper procedure, concentrating on the weaknesses



'In the White Paper there is no attempt at a new identification and formulation of educational goals in a world where the traditional canons of knowledge are continually questioned'

Scope, purpose and coverage

The White Paper is concerned with the "British educational service." It is designed to provide a "framework for expansion," though it seems to be rather more a "framework of expansion" for certain pre-selected areas. The problems of the areas chosen are treated with admirable clarity, technical expertise and straight-forwardness. There seem, on the other hand, to be certain other areas—such as provision for the age group 16-19 and for adult education—which have been wholly or partly omitted, without adequate explanation of the selection criteria and procedure.

At no point does the White Paper bring the structure of the educational function into perspective, either for the individual, over the whole of his life-span, or for innovation to meet economic, technical and social change. We miss a balanced analysis of persisting and new trends in society, in technological development and the role in the state and of the place of education and science in the process of evolution. Consequently, the perception which comes through is that of a static framework for what appears to be arbitrarily selected priority areas, without presentation of the analysis or open admission of the indeed problematic nature of such short-cuts.

The White Paper is, in its own words, concerned with "matters of scale, organization and cost rather than educational content." Consequently, it appears to adopt the principle "more not different" without due consideration of the fact that long-term planning exercises, such as this, as well as having repercussions in other sectors, are bound to produce changes in quality, in content and in standards.

Thus, some of the main issues of educational goals and social purpose—individual promotion versus selection as functions of the age of pupils, the organization of schools and of education generally—have been deliberately left out of consideration. There seems to be a defensive strategy behind this, exemplified by the absence of any comment whatsoever on the issue of the comprehensive schools for the 12-16-18 year old: it is, after all, surprising that a large-scale planning exercise of this nature should omit any reference to what was perhaps the dominant educational issue of the last decade and one which is by no means extinct. Similarly missing is any discussion of general education versus vocational training, of recurrent education or life-long learning and of participation.

There is, in sum, no attempt at a new identification and formulation of educational goals in a world where the traditional canons of knowledge, values, attitudes and skills are continually questioned. There are hints to the effect that this might not be within the proper realm of government activity. On the other hand, there is no doubt that the department has to be and in fact is concerned with questions of content and goals outside the power of the DES in deciding the scale and kind of educational operations) and with optimising resource utilization.

Insofar as the White Paper concentrates on the "educational service" as provided for or controlled by the DES, it inevitably gives the impression of putting forth a defensive strategy of departmental interests in this field. In fact, the PAR document on which the White Paper is based disavows any claim to be "a synoptic review of the whole field of education." Though this document explicitly admits the interrelationship between educational and other social and economic objectives, these are nowhere systematically related to the educational or the active shaping of the educational service and system, for the extension of the coverage of this system, or for the diversification of the character and quality of the provision.

Moreover, the role of the educational system is not reviewed or related to the functions of different departments concerned with educational matters, such as the Secretary of State for Scotland, the Department of Employment, the Civil Service Department, the Home Office, the Ministry of Defence, or the Department of Health and Social Security. Instead, the "educational service" is identified institutionally and equated with the services provided by the DES, in spite of the fact that the branches of this service cannot be taken as static and stable phenomena.

For instance, the rapid expansion of nursery education may well create conflicts *vis-à-vis* other departments and interests outside the educational field. In contrast, the approach to the problems of young people beyond compulsory full-time schooling is strictly negative. This may even be a case of conflict of negative interests since none of the relevant departments appears to be concerned with the educational problems of the 16-19 year old.

The White Paper is a document addressed to local authorities and to the educational service. Furthermore, it is a document backed in terms of resources by the Prime Minister and the Treasury. It does not even address itself to the function of education in its relation to tasks such as vocational or industrial training. It seems surprising that neither the rapid expansion of resource needs for education in the 1960s nor the specific problems of economic growth and social progress in the United Kingdom implied the Government or the other departments to develop an integrated, or at least coordinated, approach to this vital challenge to industrial society.

continued on next page



Lack of provision for the 16-19 age group and the academic/vocational dichotomy. It is stated in the PAR documents that the aim of the selection of priority areas has been "to include those [options] which represent choices of major importance which are, on a realistic assessment, open to ministers, and which would produce significant results from the point of view of resource allocation within the review period."

One would have thought that provision for the 16-19 age group, in view of its increasing tendency to stay on into some form of further education, would have merited serious attention. Section 12 of the White Paper, *After School and Beyond*, contains no discussion of relevant plans, although it does express, in a footnote, the expectation that the educational service will play a major part in the new Training Opportunities Scheme (which is being shifted from the levy-grant system of some 400 industrial training boards, by sectors of the economy rather than by vocational functions, to a less influential levy-grant-exemption system).

Figures provided to us by the DES show that in 1972/3 the proportion of the age groups receiving full-time or part-time education ranged from about 60 per cent of the 16-year-olds to about 30 per cent of the 19-year-olds. Of those who entered employment in 1973 about half the 16-year-olds and a third of the 17-year-olds were receiving formal training of one sort or another.

It is estimated that of all the 16-year-olds in 1973 half were receiving full-time education and about a quarter some kind of further education and/or training. These participation figures would decrease considerably for the age group 17-19.

These figures are quoted here to show how significant the distance still is from the objective envisaged in the 1944 Education Act which provided for some kind of compulsory education and/or training for every young man and woman up to 18.

The rise in the number of births up to 1961 will, in any case, mean a high proportion of 16-year-olds in the 1980 school population, even if staying-on rates do not go up. One cannot calculate what percentage of this age group will be encouraged to go into non-school education. The sheer size of this group, assuming proportionately increasing importance and peaking in 1980, would lead one to suspect that its needs should be considered in detail.

In addition, the policies adopted, or assumed as continuing, for this group will in any case have a considerable impact on both the sectors bracketing it—that is, secondary school and higher education, and the plans for these sectors are correspondingly contingent.

The end of the compulsory stage puts a full stop to the education of most disadvantaged children. Therefore, a whole-hearted attempt to contribute to the improvement of this situation by educational services requires considerable attention and resources to be devoted to the educational prospects of those who leave full-time school at this age and enter the industrial sector where some vocational training is provided, but no compulsory further education as is the case in continental systems up to the age of 18 or 19.

The department, and following its deliberations the Cabinet, did apparently consider the interrelationship between education and other social and economic objectives, as outlined in the PAR documents, as not of overriding importance. The exclusion of non-advanced further education from extensive consideration within the planning process contributes to the impression of the departmental and general education perspective which the White Paper planning conveys.

We understand from our discussions in the United Kingdom that the relative disregard for the issue of the 16-19 age group seems to have been a more or less unconscious decision resulting from the concentration on apparent policy priorities at that time. We venture to suggest that this might be taken as an indication of the risks or limitations of a "closed" planning procedure.

During our discussions we were also given the impression that a reappraisal of objectives

'Adult education does not seem to be considered within the constituency of the DES'

and structures for this age group has recently been initiated within the department. The question, however, remains of how any decisions which may result from this planning appraisal, and which will probably involve additional expenditures, can be implemented over the next 10 years or so, considering that there is already a policy commitment to devote the considerable additional resources which have been made available to the specific areas charted out in the White Paper.

In fact, it is one of the strongest features of the White Paper planning that decisions, once various options within the selected areas have been carefully analysed and weighed, are backed up by a commitment to meeting their cost implications.

The omission of this area from the White Paper is the more significant since the choice of some sectors and the exclusion of others can hardly have been directly deduced from a very clear statement of objectives which is contained in the PAR document.

A policy designed to achieve two of these objectives, "to develop powers of reasoning and the capacity for adapting to changing circumstances", and "to provide systematic guidance and help so as to develop the power of making informed choices", must specify the content of the "initial" and "universal" education of children, as well as the age up to which it shall be provided. How can such objectives be achieved without reference to or outside the context of industrial and vocational training?

It would also be essential to suggest structural plans which will facilitate the prescribed adaptability, thus trespassing on the self-imposed restraint on curricula and breaching the constraint of present departmental borderlines. In other words, there would need to be recognition of the problems of the actual or possible polyvalence of education and training in terms of the skills and knowledge, as well as the attitudes which both should be able to transmit in organised pedagogical processes.

"Educational service" as well as "general education"—in their purpose, method and criteria—should be understood not institutionally but functionally. Otherwise, one would be blocked from seeing both of them as component parts of one system to "develop the capacity for adapting to changing circumstances".

One must, of course, be aware of the

educational leave and of the selection of target groups in society as part of a strategy for the extension of educational supply to minority groups, and such like, are not dealt with.

One answer to this multiple question refers to the unfortunately delayed Russell Report, another to the lack of funds. But the question appears not to have been thought of as being of particular relevance to the "constituency" of the DES or as being sufficiently urgently pressed by groups in society.

One may in this context also refer to the Open University. Its original aim was to provide an answer to the demands for adult education. As has been the experience with institutions aimed at similar purposes in other countries, the ones that were most eager to grasp this change were not the most strikingly underprivileged, but the ones with relatively high educational achievement already, such as late dropouts or, indeed, former graduates of higher education.

We understand that in its second phase the Open University is putting the emphasis on programmes designed for adults without prior experience which will increase even more the importance of this unique and admirable venture also for the other countries. In view of the similar questions in view of these matters for local self-government, that is for teacher or local authorities, seem to preclude the possibility of interpreting the role of education as an agent for innovation and social progress.

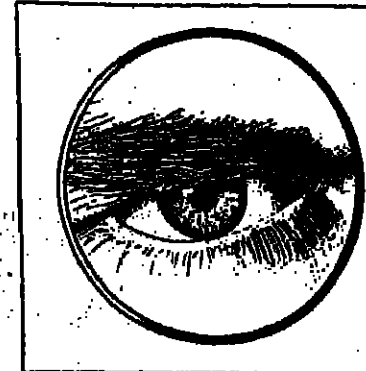
Binary higher education

While in the case of comprehensive schools the White Paper abstains from comment altogether, it states that the Government have "a contribution to make to the current debate about the objectives of higher education" (p. 20). It is here that the paper is also quite outspoken on the system of units and credits as well as on the construction of university courses.

The absence of any statement on plans for the 16-19 age group makes estimates of demand for higher education more unreliable than they would be anyway. Admitting the need that in any long-term planning exercise some provisional figures are needed to be set as targets if buildings and staff are to be provided in time, it is none the less certain that such exercises should refrain, as far as possible, from plumping for exact figures and should instead concentrate on delineating the structure of future developments.

The proposed cutback from 835,000 higher education students by 1981 in Planning Paper No 2 to 750,000 in the White Paper (1) will take place entirely within the university sector which may create problems of selection and of binary balance.

This reduction, and the further reduction to 640,000 announced in November 1974, was



'The question remains whether society and, indeed, the economy can afford to stop educational concern for a large part of its youth at 16'



factual situation in which this omission occurred: general education was to be raised to 16, and there was a long and proven system of ladder rungs through vocational/professional diplomas and degrees from local, area or regional colleges right up to the university—a system so "typically British" in its flexibility and empiricism which makes it hard to describe as a "system".

Traditional English trust in the integrative powers of community and society as a whole, beside and beyond organised education, must also come into consideration. Still the question remains whether in our day society and, indeed, the economy can afford to stop educational concern for a large part of its youth at the age of 16.

Adult education

The stated objectives of the educational process clearly include "to develop the attitude that education is a lifelong process". It is equally clearly stated that the planning behind the White Paper "refers only incidentally to further education below the higher education level and not at all to adult education". This exclusion seems to carry the risk of relegating adult education to a very minor position in the overall educational structure.

The educational service seems to be perceived as consisting of certain institutions offering full-time or part-time educational provision, consequently the issues of paid

based on evidence of a less buoyant demand for education than in the 1960s. But even the lower figure comfortably exceeds the Robbins Report's projection (in 1963) of 596,000 places in 1981.

There appears in this even split in higher education between the university and the polytechnic sectors more of elegance and of formal parity than of rational estimation of higher quality personnel. In the state, the economy and society. The reasons given to include the apparent coincidence of organic expansion estimates and wishes on the side of existing universities.

The White Paper is silent on the long-term perspective for the higher education institutions under the control of local authorities, both in terms of status and competition with other further education or compulsory school provisions, as well as on the issue of the viability of the existing vast support grant system to local authorities.

The DES, however, seems to have become aware that political pressures will ultimately push the present higher education system towards a unitary structure, but feels that only a continued period of long-term preservation of the present structure will eventually bridge the full "parity", including greater similarity in status which is a prerequisite to such a consummation.

The university sector appears to be excluded from active consideration for various reasons,

among them its sacred autonomy and "distance" from practical problems, while the polytechnics are considered as instruments for conscious shaping of future higher education.

This trend is backed by the handling in the White Paper of the future of colleges of education. There is here in fact a paradox: the general long-term planning perspective of the White Paper and the urgency with which the transformation of the colleges of education, and their effective affiliation into the binary system, is pressed.

Local authorities were given an effective maximum of nine months to submit their plans, which may appear to be an unrealistically short space of time for such an important structural mutation; especially in the absence of an explicit background of the new institutional structure against which to work.

Innovation and research

As the White Paper approach is largely restricted to quantitative projections and proposals for resource allocation, and is based on the existing institutional framework, it leaves little room for questions of educational purpose, content or method. Departmental perspectives, the self-interpretation of the role of civil servants as apolitical, or in any case neutral, servants of the state, and the views of the content of education as a matter for local self-government, that is for teacher or local authorities, seem to preclude the possibility of interpreting the role of education as an agent for innovation and social progress.

These factors also seem to inhibit any wide spread interest in DES to foster research and experimentation for educational innovation beyond its indirect interest in these matters through the mechanism of the School Council.

Only in the cases of preprimary education and higher education is there recognised a (limited) necessity for research in educational matters. It appears thus to be left entirely to the educational community and to the initiative of the local authorities whether or not they engage in these vital questions.

The record of the system so far and its capacity to innovate have been good, as is universally attested; but the question arises whether the forces now at play are not such that in the not too distant future the need may not be felt for stronger involvement from the centre in the more esoteric matters of the educational process (including a more pronounced view on the promotion versus the selection role of education) similar to the one which exists in resource planning and allocation.

Improving the quality of basic education

If there is one explicit overall priority which comes out in the policy enunciated in the White Paper it is that which relates to improving the quality of basic education. This is to be achieved by action in two main areas:—improved staffing standards and teacher training and an expanded provision of facilities for early childhood education.

On both these areas, the plans and the resources to be committed for their implementation are admirably elaborated in the planning documents we have seen. Accepting the essentially political nature of the decision to focus priority on these two areas, we wish to limit our comments to a few points relating to nursery education.

Though the educational justification for the expansion of the nursery sector is considered paramount, the measures proposed in this area are not seen as serving narrowly defined educational ends. The White Paper, however, contains no initiative for involving the whole range of agencies and services which deal with this age group—even though the need for such involvement is highlighted in Circular No 2773 which gives guidance to local education authorities on the implementation of the policy measures.

There is the same constraint, in other words, imposed by departmental barriers which, if it had been possible to break, might have led to inter-departmental sharing of the financial burden, which in itself might have given more impetus to genuine coordination of a practical nature which this field, more than any other perhaps, calls for.

We would also have liked to have seen more explicit references in the White Paper as to positive plans of how early education with the primary school are to be established without which the monitoring of the "effectiveness of nursery education is reaching its several goals", on which research studies are proposed, cannot be meaningfully undertaken.

There are other aspects of the problem—such as the relations between part-time provision and the consequent need for mothers; how the part-time jobs for mothers, how the population groups, especially the disadvantaged around which a discussion of the implications of the White Paper provisions for the under-fives could be illuminating to an international audience.



CONCLUDING SUMMARY

The White Paper, as critically reviewed in this section, reflects an active bureaucracy, largely in the position to determine its own framework and the nature of its activity. Within this definition of its role, the organization and articulation of this bureaucracy are particularly effective, especially in diffusing the location of planning work within the sectors which carry substantive responsibility for the implementation of decisions.

An effective network of communication has also been established within these various sectors, though we were not in a position to assess whether this network adequately covers the needs of the sectors concerned with the content and methods of education, except insofar as the interests of these sectors are represented by Her Majesty's Inspectors located within the DES.

The chief features of the bases for its policy formation seem to be characterized by attempts to: minimize the degree of controversy in the planning process and its results; reduce possible alternatives to planners face and, increasingly, the capacity of planners to anticipate and adjust to new problems in a rapidly changing society.

From this point of view, this examination comes at an apt moment. British educational planning, like educational planning in most other OECD countries, is at a watershed. However considerable its demonstrated virtues, its capacity to cope with gathering new pressures and problems is still to be seen.

The British economy has lagged in its development. To the extent that this is due to educational inadequacies, for example in the recruiting and training of workers and managers at the higher levels of skill, large changes of a fundamental structural kind will be needed. The question they raise is whether planning that is essentially acquiescent in relation to dominant opinion is sufficient.

Ethnic and racial problems, and what in the United Kingdom goes by the name of "community relations", are increasing in severity in the United Kingdom as elsewhere. They pose particularly acute difficulties for education. Will planning methods based on informal consultative procedures and con-

sideration of the overall balance of resource allocation between the claims of pre-primary, primary, secondary and tertiary education.

One of the crucial issues here is the rate at which staffing standards in schools should be improved, since teachers' salaries represent about half of all, and 70 per cent of recurrent expenditure in education. In this, we believe there are important general lessons to be learnt by close study of the analysis of needs—based on the triple objective of improved in-service training, extending teacher training to three years, and reducing the pupil/teacher ratio to 18.5/1 by 1981—which led to the precise targets laid down in the White Paper.

Final observations and list of questions. In the previous two sections we have endeavoured, albeit at a level of generality which we felt inevitable in an exercise of this kind, to portray the planning process operating within the DES, both against the general background of national tradition and institutions and in the specific context of one concrete and major example of its policy output, the 1972 White Paper.

The effectiveness of the planning method is in fact to be measured not by some abstract *a priori* standard, but in relation to the concrete problems and pressures the planners face and, increasingly, the capacity of planners to anticipate and adjust to new problems in a rapidly changing society.

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Dr Miller's letter reopens the wounds of four years' conflict at PNL

The Polytechnic of North London faces its second successive year of scrutiny by an independent body if its governors follow the suggestion of setting up a committee of inquiry into the conduct of the director, Mr. Terence Miller.

The polytechnic is again given by governors when only three weeks ago it seemed to be heading for a period of calm. Much argued proposals on its academic structure had been finally agreed, a moderate students union executive had been elected for next year and the challenge of convincing the Council for National Academic Awards of PNL's fitness had drawn the staff together in a rare moment of unity.

The reaction of governors and staff to the discovery of the letter sent by Mr. Miller to the Government in February has, however, opened four years' old sores and put the future of the polytechnic in jeopardy once again.

Yet for all the attacks and excursions surrounding the governors' vote to suspend Mr. Miller, academic life at PNL goes on. A highly placed administrator elsewhere wondered if the personality of a polytechnic director had much bearing on the conduct of affairs. Lectures are held and papers are marked and one staff member at PNL said some people were almost as tired of the wrangling as they were of the Common Market referendum.

Recent events in the convoluted history of PNL are well known. In June 1974 a joint advisory committee of the polytechnic and the Inner London Education Authority reported that the comparatively large number of students on the academic board had to be cut.

This committee was set up in November 1973 following a critical appraisal of PNL by the CNA. Now the CNA is planning to check and its main inspection is planned for four days after the special governors' meeting to decide on the inquiry into Mr. Miller's actions on June 9.

November and December 1974 saw a series of events disrupted by students protesting over the representation and bitter complaints by sections of the staff about the form and conclusions of the joint committee. But the machinery of accepting its report ground on. Mr. Miller welcomed it and over Christmas it passed to ILEA and the Department of Education and Science which has to approve any change in the articles of association.

In January and February this year various objections to the proposed changes in the academic structure took their last chance to lobby the DES. The members of the Association of Teachers in Technical Institutions scored a political success in persuading the ILEA and the joint committee to accept a reduction in the number of staff on the academic board, with a corresponding reduction in the "directorates" representatives. In a letter dated February 18, Mr. Miller wrote to the DES outlining additional changes he would like to see and it was this action that started the joint committee to complain and governors to argue for his suspension. When Mr. Miller was a party to joint committee and governors' previous decisions, the ATTJ was not and it was held that his action was "grossly improper".

Four events of note have taken place recently. Mr. Miller wrote to withdraw his February letter on the grounds that he had no intention of

providing such a strong adverse reaction. The joint committee urged the governors to "consider the matter further", which they did at a meeting on April 21. A majority of them called upon their chairman, Dr. Walter Ross, to suspend the director. Meanwhile a meeting of the further and higher education subcommittee of the ILEA officially took the line that it was a matter for the governors.

Much now hinges on the forensic skill of Dr. Ross in sorting out the advice being thrown at him from all sides. He decided not to act on the governors' vote, but refer the matter to the special meeting in June, and in the weeks till then is certain to be harried by partisans.

The governors are the main protagonists for they have to decide in June—or sooner if pressure from Mr. Graham Packham, president of the students union, is successful—whether to treat Mr. Miller's action as an act of insubordination or as previous instances of his acting without any apparent regard for the governing body.

Many people see the root of the troubles in history—the rocky marriage of two different colleges at the formation of PNL, and a pattern of student disruption followed by their preponderant weight in various academic committees. The relationship between the director and the business studies department has formed a chequered backdrop to events since 1972.

A picture is emerging of the majority of staff considering the particular action of Mr. Miller's not grave enough on its own to justify his dismissal though many would follow Mrs. Margaret Sondergaard, chairman of the ATTJ coordinating committee, in saying that any inquiry must be thoroughgoing and contain adequate numbers of staff.

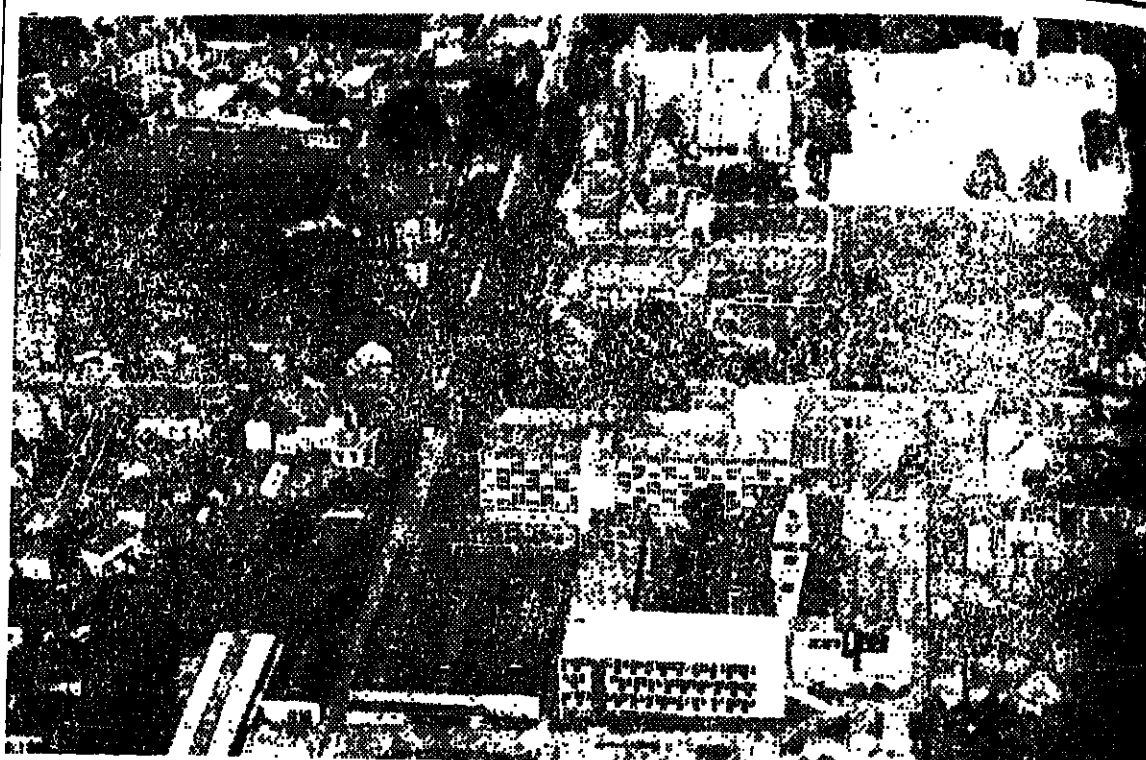
It is unlikely that Dr. Ross would be voted out by his fellow governors even if he took a soft line on the inquiry for he is one of the appointees of the ILEA who form the most cohesive group within the governing body. A few days ago, moreover, the leading "anti-Miller" among the governors, Dr. Colin Tice, left for another job.

Dr. Ross has been contacted by a number of polytechnic directors arguing on Mr. Miller's behalf, and Mr. Miller himself said this week that he had received several sympathetic messages from colleagues on the Committee of Directors of Polytechnics. Some members of staff consider Dr. Ross "impressional".

Although the ILEA pays for the polytechnic, matters are complicated by the fact that Mr. Miller's contract is with the board of governors. There are reports that officials of the ILEA have considered a negotiated settlement with Mr. Miller if he was to leave before the expiry of his contract in seven years' time. It is almost certain that Mr. Miller's outright dismissal would be challenged and involve the ILEA in legal proceedings.

Senior members of the polytechnic's administration are still hoping that the whole affair will somehow blow over and the governors decide in June not to press the matter further. They are lobbying the governors hard. If they are not successful and there is another inquiry, the PNL hornets' nest that seemed so quiet will be kicked over once again.

David Walker



So near but yet so far—Darlington College of Technology (centre bottom), Darlington College of Education (centre top), and Queen Elizabeth sixth-form college (top right).

Rejected as a poly site, it may now lose its teacher training...

Should Darlington lose out again?

Darlington must be one of the few towns that has suffered a loss in higher education provision since the mad scramble for expansion began over a decade ago.

Its modern college of technology lost its chance to become a regional centre in the 1960s and when the Teesside Polytechnic was formed, a number of higher national diploma courses were transferred.

Now, after first being given a reprieve the town's voluntary college of education, founded in 1872, is faced with closure in 1978 and its neighbouring Middleton St George College, opened in 1968, is likely to lose its entire teacher training provision if it is merged with the polytechnic.

The two colleges are the latest victims of the halving of teacher training places, which is leading to savage reductions in the once well-provided Northern region of Britain (see table).

Whereas, in 1971, there were 8,600 places provided in 15 separate centres, by 1981, if the Department of Education and Science figures are implemented, there will be only 4,500 places in eight or nine centres.

DES, as defined by the polytechnic centres of education although none will have more than 600 students with the remaining students attending courses in diversified liberal arts colleges. The largest concentration of teacher training places will be at Northumberland College of Education, Ponteland.

The traditional centres of higher education at Newcastle and Durham will lose the least number of places still strengthening the geographical imbalance of higher education in the region.

The urban centres of Sunderland and Cleveland will also retain a stake in teacher training with the numbers at Teesside increasing by 120 to 450 under the reorganization scheme.

The main reductions in teacher training provision will take place at the expense of the rural areas and the industrial areas of South Durham which are already losing their higher education places.

The most bitterly contested case is undoubtedly the DES proposals for Darlington. Whereas Alnwick, now certain to lose its teacher training place, is situated in the sparsely populated area of North Northumberland, the loss of 170 places at Darlington and Middleton St George, are in heavily populated areas. The town of Darlington alone has 86,000 people, while the hinterland of South Durham and North Yorkshire has more than 250,000 people.

The college has outlined its case in a 30 page document, Darlington College of Education: The Case for Survival. Mr. Alan Earl, the head of the college and campaign officer, defended their case by quoting detailed facts rather than using sentiment or emotion. He believes that the college has a good case in remaining in the city on economic and

The lynch-pin of the academic argument is the college's development since 1968. The voluntary college was advanced in the Northern region.

The college estimates that about 120 students of the 435 in the college are taking initial or in-service nursery education courses.

Students have a wide choice of school to train as nursery teachers since of the 1,565 full-time equivalent nursery places for children in Durham, a total of 595 (38 per cent) are in Darlington and 130 in neighbouring Coundon and Newton Aycliffe. During the next school year another 200 places will be provided in the Darlington and Bishop Auckland areas.

The college estimates that its good communications by bus from Richmond and Swaledale and its train services to Teesside and Durham, could allow nursery education to expand to about 250 places.

The second major argument in the college's case is the development of a neighbourhood campus which could be used at a later date to expand higher education in the Darlington area.

The college is adjacent to both the town's Queen Elizabeth sixth-form college and the Darlington College of Technology.

Table of comparative figures for teacher training, DES Northern Region

Area/college	Before (1974)	After (1981)
Northumberland	380	NIL (closed)
Northumberland	960	750
Alnwick	2300	750 (transferred)
Newcastle	800	500
St Mary's	850	NIL
Newcastle	1650	1100 (poly dept)
Sunderland	1140	600-700
Sunderland college and polytechnic	650	500
Durham	1110	600
Neville's Cross	1760	1100
Rede/St Peter's	450	NIL
Darlington	720	NIL (transferred)
Middleton St George	1170	NIL
Cleveland	330	450 (poly dept)
Teesside	400	400
Middleton St George	NIL	NIL
North Riding	400	400
Scarborough	300	300-350
Cumbria	900	4700-4850
Charlotte Mason	300	300-350
GRAND TOTALS	9050	4700-4850

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The three institutions already have close links on an informal basis. If the voluntary college was closed it seems likely that the premises would have to be sold and because of economic constraints demanded by the Charitable Commissioners, lost to education.

Mr. Earl explained that it was unlikely that the British and Foreign Schools Society could use the college for any other purpose. Mr. Earl's other contention is that although a number of courses could be developed with the college of technology, it would require a large amount of expenditure.

Facilities are already available and the joint development of courses could gradually be introduced over five or more years.

The Department of Education and Science's arguments for the closure of the college have been mainly concerned with the demand for higher education in the Darlington area and the academic standards of the college.

Originally, however, the department supported the college's case for developing its links with Darlington College of Technology. A letter from the DES of May 2 last year said: "we see considerable advantage in a link between Darlington colleges of technology and education since it would give flexibility in the provision of places for teacher education and create the best conditions for the gradual development of other advanced courses."

Mr. Earl said that the college believes that the case for a link with a neighbourhood education campus still stands. The academic standards of the college, if measured on a two A level entry basis, were below the national average but this was accounted for by the emphasis on nursery education. He rejected the case that there was no demand for higher education in the Darlington area.

Figures show that the total awards for the Darlington area in 1973 were 18.6 per cent of the population which is below the national average of 20.7. However, Darlington figures are above the average for the North East (16.1) and only Northumberland (21.3) is above the Darlington figure.

The college's contention is backed by the sixth form college which shows that out of 200 students in the upper sixth, a total of 113 were applying for university this year and there were 31 polytechnic applications and 32 applications to colleges of education.

Perhaps, however, the college's strongest case could be that access to teacher training education could be restricted in the reorganization because of local transport difficulties. The withdrawal of rail services to the west of Darlington has meant that students rely on buses to attend in-service training courses. The first bus to Darlington arrives at 4.55 am, virtually preventing students from attending lectures at Durham or Teesside.

David Walker

The first of two articles by David Walker

The British Academy adapts its elitism to new needs

The British Academy is an unashamedly elitist institution. Born in the twentieth century but redolent of the eighteenth, it is a spangled assembly of the great names of British scholarship in the humanities.

The academy is the guardian of the learned societies, the succour of archaeologists, historians and classicists, the promoter of intellectual events and symposia. It is the embodiment of standards in the humanities and social sciences.

Lord Robbins, a former president, said: "The academy are the experts; they can provide, at comparatively short notice, representative aspects of the expertise of learning in this country."

The grand leather bound volume in the secretary's office in the academy's modest suite of offices in Burlington House in Piccadilly contains, for example, most of the leading names of modern British history—Trevor-Roper, Taylor, Plumb, Elton, Butterfield—and of British philosophy—Ayer, Hampshire, Hart, Popper, Williams and Wollheim. To be a member of the 350 is a signal academic honour.

The academy is financed by the state, although its annual grant of £700,000 is paltry compared with the vast sums spent on higher education. With this sum it undertakes a full programme of organizing knowledge and sustaining scholarship. However unsure they may be about its snobbish aspects, leading academics in the humanities are unanimous that if the Royal Society had not created the academy 74 years ago, it would have had to be created afresh, if only to carry out its programme of grants.

But curiously, one of the most striking attitudes of many fellows is diffidence. A Cambridge archaeologist said he had gladly contributed towards the cost of the ceremonial sword of a French colleague elected to the College de France, but he was humbly sceptical about his membership of the academy. All the flummery was somehow un-British.

Traces of this attitude show even among members of the academy's council. Mr. Stuart Hampshire, warden of Wadham College, Oxford, said that the academy's work in giving grants and protecting scholarship was by far more important than any prestige it conferred.

Many of the Oxford and Cambridge academics, who form the bulk of the fellowship, said the academy mattered much less than the Royal Society. The title of Fellow of the Royal Society was the ultimate accolade for the working scientist.

The head of an Oxford college quoted the maxim that to be a fellow of the Royal Society was nothing, but not to be a fellow was terrible. He wondered whether this applied to the academy.

Perhaps the diffidence of many fellows is just British reserve. In 1927 Lord Birkenhead told a commemorative dinner of the academy that the British as a people had not

readily yielded to the temptation to form academies which would crystallize either artistic or literary standards.

Yet in a closeknit field like classics there are pressures to secure election. The title of fellow of the British Academy matters much to historians, too. Social scientists, however, according to a leading economist, did not really care.

Critics of the academy point out evidence of the bias in the fellowship towards traditional academic areas. "Modern" academic areas like linguistics or comparative literature or sociology have few representatives and they conclude there must be an electoral conspiracy. Election, one man commented, was no more than common room gossip writ large.

Such a charge is hotly denied by the fellows. Soundings about a man's reputation are taken at home and abroad before "papers are taken out" for his candidature. In recent years the council, secretary and fellowship standing committee have taken an increasingly active role in looking after the interests of newer areas.

Despite the nonchalance affected by some fellows, membership of the club is a great prize. At the academy's annual dinner in 1970 Sir Edward (later Lord) Boyle put his finger on the memorial nature of the recognition conferred by the academy when he said: "Your own obituary notices are the best record of our national scholarship and learning."

The list of fellows bears this out. Among the deceased is a procession of holders of the Order of Merit: Fisher, Gilbert Murray, G. E. Moore, Frazer, Bryce, Mackail, Whitehead. It constitutes a catalogue of British twentieth century intellect: Tawney, Malin, Beveridge, Keynes.

At the very least academy represents a means of distinction for those increasingly few academics who are not university men, who have refused to go for chairs and committee chairmanships, who have spent their academic lives in libraries or on archaeological digs.

The academy is an alternative source of prestige for the traditional university virtues of scholarship and intellectual originality. It is, for instance, a fascinating exercise to ask how many vice-chancellors are fellows of the academy.

A body devoted to preservation of standards through time runs a risk of ossifying and upholding tradition for its own sake. Other national academies have become the preserve of lexicographers and belletrists. But the academy, according to its secretary, Dr. Neville Williams, has managed to adapt.

New subjects have made their appearance. Over the years the number of members of the academy has expanded allowing new disciplines to be represented. Dr. Williams said: "If the range

of real scholarship changes it will be shown in the academy, but it has to be sure that somebody holds a chair of accountancy or whatever comes up to the mark."

"The sole criterion of fellowship is contribution to scholarship. It does not matter if a chap is a first class teacher or happens to hold a particular academic position. It all hinges on his performance as a scholar. Once you go away from that, you are on a slippery slope."

Professor Eric Turner of University College London, a fellow and president of the International Union of Academies, said the key to the academy's success was its adaptability. It had been flexible enough to expand and take on new functions through the years.

The BA started off with 100 fellows. Last year its constitution was amended to allow 350 fellows plus senior fellows over the age of 72 who cannot hold office. In 1934 the then president, Dr. J. W. Mackail, spoke of the difficulty posed by a limitation on numbers because of the natural tendency to give weight to the claims of seniority yet still electing scholars while in the maturity of their powers.

A key decade in the academy's history was the 1950s and the work of its president, Sir Maurice Bowra, from 1958 to 1962 and its secretary, Sir Mortimer Wheeler, from 1959-1968. Together they persuaded the Government to let the academy become an agency for the transmission of funds to the humanities.

Until then the academy was largely decorative. It was formed at the behest of the Royal Society in 1901 largely to fulfil international obligations which the scientists did not feel competent to handle.

The shadow of the Royal Society has hung over the BA for many years. Sir John Clapham, president of the academy, said in 1943: "The BA is an infant compared with the Royal Society, barely 40 years old. But it represents the whole field of learning outside the natural sciences, from archaeology to economics."

Sir Mortimer Wheeler is generally credited with giving the BA a role apart from its function as an exclusive club for scholars. Wheeler is an almost legendary figure: a television personality in the 1950s, a propagandist on behalf of causes like protecting the temples of Abu Simbel in Egypt as well as the country's best-known archaeologist. During his secretaryship of the BA the Treasury grant certainly increased dramatically and he was active in expanding the number of schools of history and archaeology run by the BA abroad.

In 1958 with a grant from the American Rockefeller Foundation the BA surveyed what provision was made for research in the humanities and social sciences and an upshot of the ensuing discussion was the Conservative government's decision in 1962 to pay a grant to the BA which it would then disperse to humanities scholars. Lord Halsham, then Minister responsible

for research, excluded the social sciences as they involved a "wider government interest".

From that arrangement the Social Science Research Council later emerged, producing what some academics hold is the anomaly of social scientists getting their funds from a government agency but looking for recognition—often in vain, it is alleged—from the British Academy which acts as a kind of research council for the humanities.

During the 1960s the present system of government grant was established, partly due to the friendship shown the academy by such civil servants as Sir Toby Weaver of the Department of Education and Science.

In 1974-75 the total income of the BA was £701,000 of which £695,000 came direct from the DES. Of this total £407,000 was earmarked for the schools and institutes overseas. Research awards total £135,000; overseas awards £50,000; publications £34,000 and £63,000 for administration.

By and large the government grant has kept pace with rising costs though finance is a subject that has begun to preoccupy the council. It was said that implementing the recommendations in the report of a committee under Professor H. G. Darby of Cambridge to assist learned societies was held up by the BA's shortage of cash, though events have not overruled the report.

A large part of this grant goes to support nine research institutes abroad in Ankara, Athens, Baghdad, Jerusalem, Kabul, Nairobi, Rome and Tehran which was mostly concerned with archaeological studies in their respective areas. Some, like the British Institute in Eastern Africa, are a focus for work in ethnography.

The latest, in Singapore, is to be concerned with the archaeology, cultural anthropology and the history of South-East Asia. This, like the others, will provide background facilities for scholars visiting the area to help with their research.

Lord Robbins called the schools and institutes one of the glories of British culture and experts agree they help to maintain the position of British archaeology in the world.

Professor Grahame Clark, master of Peterhouse College, Cambridge, and a leading archaeologist, said: "The council of the academy is very good to archaeology. There is only a small cadre of really good men in Britain and the premature death of one could set the studies of a whole generation back. Hence through the academy is needed to sustain scholarship."

However, the last president of the academy, Sir Denis Page, an illustrious classical scholar, made clear in his presidential address last year that the BA simply distributed a meagre grant to schools from the DES. He im-

Sir Mortimer Wheeler, secretary of the British Academy 1949-1968.

almost marginal role as far as policy matters to the schools went.

Some academics consider the schools with their atmosphere of nineteenth century individualism are an anachronism. The archaeological sites are in increasingly self-aware Third World countries. The days when great British archaeologist like Leonard Woolley could hire Iraqi labourers at one shilling a day are gone for ever.

As well as the permanent schools and institutes the BA supports the Egypt Exploration Society and the Society for Libyan Studies. The former has been working in recent years in cooperation with the Egyptian authorities at Saqqara near Cairo on centres of ancient animal cults.

A glance at the list of standing committees of the academy gives an idea of the other kind of work it supports. They range from the Anglo-Palestinian Archives Committee which is concerned with documents of the period of the British Mandate in Palestine and the foundation of Israel to the Corpus Vetus Medii Aevi Committee which is cataloguing examples of stained glass in the English cathedrals.

The Save Carthage Committee was appointed in 1973 and has begun excavations in Tunisia, but apart from a few minor excursions such as this, the academy avoids politics. While some members are averse to such a diverse collectivity taking any view at all, several feel it should represent the interests of scholarship to government.

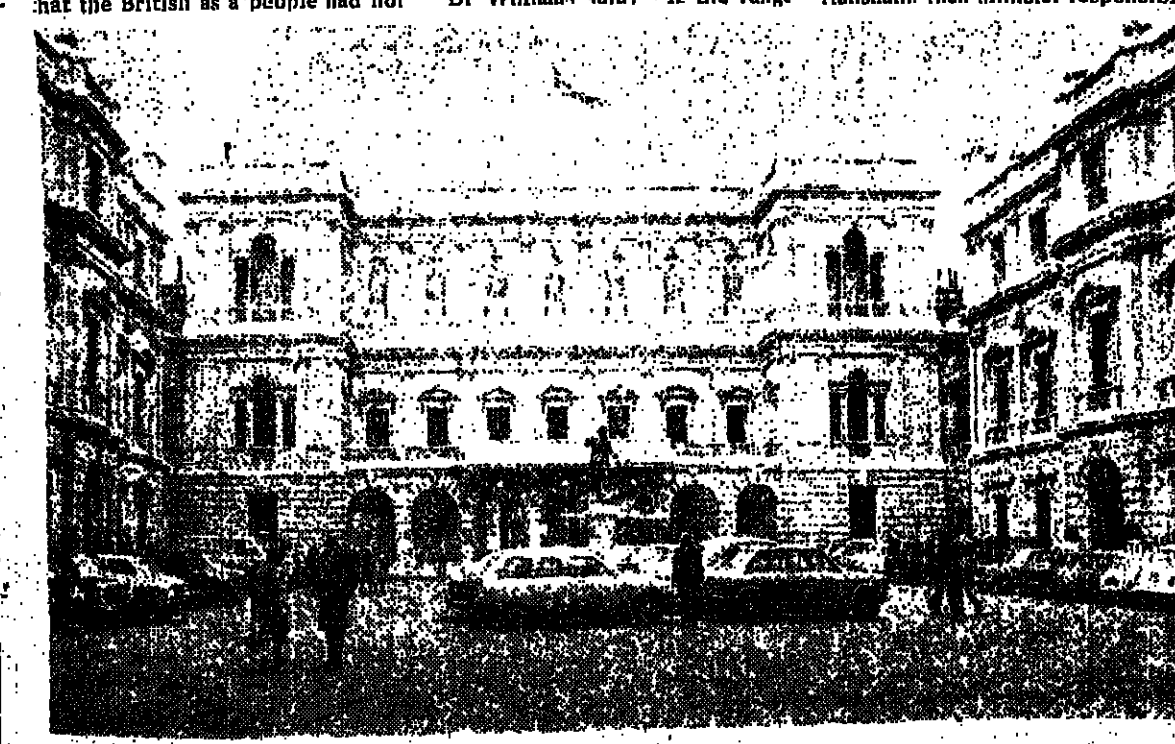
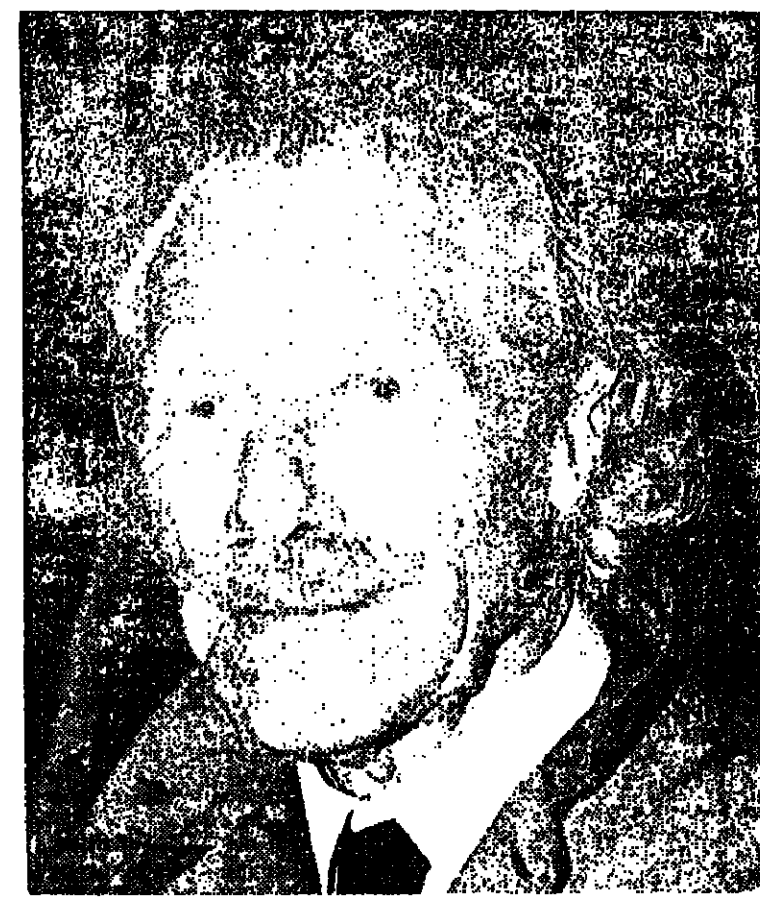
The kind of issues the academy could take a collective view on, held to be one of pure scholarship alone. For instance, earlier this year it presented its view on the planned move of the British Library to a new site in central London to the chief executive of the library.

Apart from its standing committees, the BA makes grants to individuals and societies for research which in 1974-75 totalled about 20 per cent of its income. It administers overseas awards from government funds and provides money for a number of overseas fellowships.

Dr. Williams, the secretary and a recognized Tudor historian in his own right, said that perhaps because other sources of funds had been drying up, the standards of application were rising. The BA had also become better known as a source.

The British Council funds various exchange programmes with East European academics administered by the BA, and last year the BA sent a scholar to Mongolia and invited a party of Russians to a symposium in Cambridge. Last year, too, a larger discussion meeting was held in conjunction with the Royal Netherlands Academy and the Royal Society.

The second article looks at the present role and composition of the



Darlington House

NOTICE BOARD

Chairs

Dr William Ronald Aylett Muntz, at present chairman of the laboratory of experimental psychology, school of biological sciences, University of Sussex, has been appointed to the chair of biology, Stirling University.

Dr J. P. Cole, at present reader in geography, Nottingham University, has been promoted to professor of regional geography.

Dr Stanley Clough, at present reader in physics, Nottingham University, has been promoted professor of physics.

Dr L. J. Newson, at present reader in child development, Nottingham University, has been promoted to professor of child development.

Dr David W. Harkness, senior lecturer in the University of Kent, has been appointed to the chair of Irish history, Queen's University of Belfast.

Dr Cutha B. Radford, senior lecturer, Queen's University, Belfast, has been promoted to the chair of French.

Dr K. D. Duncan, currently senior lecturer in psychology, University of Hull, has been appointed to the second chair, department of applied psychology, University of Wales Institute of Science and Technology.

Dr D. J. Harris, currently reader in electrical engineering, Portsmouth Polytechnic, has been appointed to the second chair in the department of electrical and electronic engineering, University of Wales Institute of Science and Technology from September 1.

Mr Herbert R. Toulmin, previously acting head of the department of dental prosthetics, Birmingham University, has been promoted to the chair and headship of that department.

Dr P. R. Swann, reader in physical metallurgy and materials science, Imperial College of Science and Technology, has been awarded the title of Central Electricity Generating Board Professor of Corrosion Science.

Mr M. K. McCall, lecturer in English, Reading University, has been appointed professor and head of the department

of English at University College, Cardiff from October 1.

Mr John Bennett, at present building economist (previously chief quantity surveyor) with Hampshire County Council, has been appointed professor of quantity surveying at Reading University from October 1.

Dr John F. Pickering, currently a member of the senior directing staff at the Administrative Staff College, Henley, has been appointed to a chair in industrial economics, department of management sciences, University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology.

Sir Norman Rowntree, formerly visiting professor in civil engineering at Kings College, London, has been appointed to the chair in civil engineering, University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology.

Mr Alan Llewellyn-Williams, director of extra-mural studies at University College, Bangor, has been awarded a personal chair.

Dr F. G. H. Millar, fellow of the Queen's College, Oxford, and editor of the *Journal of Roman Studies*, has been appointed to the chair of Ancient History at University College London.

Dr K. R. Hinmunde, director of the Institute of International and Comparative Law, has been appointed to the chair of International Law at Queen Mary College, University of London.

Dr J. M. White, lecturer at the Royal Postgraduate Medical School, has been appointed to the chair of haematology, King's College Hospital, Medical School, University of London.

The following have been awarded the title of professor at the University of London: Dr D. G. Larmann, mathematics, University College; Dr L. D. Morton, food science, Queen Elizabeth College; Dr J. W. Osborn, anatomy in relation to dentistry, Guy's Hospital Medical School.

Mr Konradus Wilhelm Kropholler, currently reader in chemical engineering at Loughborough University, has been appointed to the newly established chair of paper science at the University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology, from September 1.

Universities

Queens Belfast
Senior lecturer: Stanley Norman Adams (agricultural and food chemistry).

Cardiff
Senior lecturer: P. R. Wilding (social administration); lecturers: C. R. Barclay and C. Heady (economics).

Keele
Promotion to Readers: Corinne Hutt (psychology); P. Smith (mathematics); Senior lecturer: F. J. Coffield (education); D. E. Duggdale (physics).

London
Readers: J. Sargent (geography, with reference to Asia, School of Oriental and African Studies); Dr J. W. Brough (African Studies, School of Oriental and African Studies); Title of Readers: M. P. Barnes (Scandinavian philology).

Forthcoming events

"Mathematical Models of the National Economy", a lecture by Professor J. M. Hurd, department of economics, Manchester University, will be held at a joint meeting of the East Midlands branch of the Institute of Mathematics and its Applications with the local branch of the Royal Statistical Society, on May 13 at the University of Nottingham Lecture Theatre C12 Mathematics and Physics Building.

The Irish Labour Society's symposium on James Connolly will be held on May 16-18 in Liberty Hall, Dublin. Speakers include: Bernard Ransom, research student, department of politics, University of Edinburgh; on Connolly in Scotland; and John Hoffman, lecturer, department of politics, University of Leicester, on Connolly and historical materialism. Further information from Ansehn Morgan, Joint Organizer, Connolly Symposium, Irish Labour Society, c/o Institute of Irish Studies, Queen's University, 18 University Road, Belfast BT7 1NJ.

"Lecture and Public Policy." The inaugural meeting of the Lecture Series will be held on May 13-14 at the University of Manchester. Speakers include: Dr C. S. Smith. The emergence of leisure as a policy issue for central government and the

administrative response. Fee: £2.00. Registration not later than May 23; forms available from Mr Gordon Cherry, Centre for Urban and Regional Studies, Selly Wick House, Selly Wick Road, Birmingham B29 7JF.

The 70th anniversary concert of the University of London choir will be held on May 12 in the William Beveridge Hall, Senate House, University of London. The choir will perform "Dixie" (Hauke) and other compositions by Bruckner, Purcell and Vaughan Williams. In addition, a special work, "Celebration", composed by Ian Hall, will be performed.

An eight-week series of conferences, workshops and lectures to be held at the Polytechnic of Central London's Cultural Community Studies Unit, will examine social, cultural and psychological aspects of the family and other compositions by Bruckner, Purcell and Vaughan Williams. In addition, a special work, "Celebration", composed by Ian Hall, will be performed.

General

The Technican Education Council has appointed the following advisory officers:—

Mr R. A. Rogers, head of the English department, Aston Technical College, from May 1; Dr D. B. Marks, senior lecturer, Guildford Technical College, from June 1; Mr B. H. C. Sutton, head of the department of building technology and management, Glasgow College of Building and Printing, from July 1; Mr W. C. Barton, formerly Physics Adviser, West. Argentina.

The following have been elected Foreign members of the Royal Society:

Professor Henry Gilman, Emeritus professor of chemistry, Iowa State University, Ames, USA; Professor Michael Heidelberger, adjunct professor of pathology, New York University Medical School, USA; Professor Ruedor Lyuen, professor of chemistry, Ludwig Maximilians University, Munich, and director of the Max Planck Institute of Biochemistry, Munich; Professor I. O. Schuster, Emeritus Professor of theoretical chemistry, Yale University, USA.

American news

Drastic cuts threaten university of the poor

from Frances Hill

NEW YORK
The chancellor of the City University of New York, Robert J. Kibbee, has said that proposed cuts of \$65.7m in CUNY's budget would "permanently alter public higher education in this city as we know it today". Such proposals are a continuation of a pattern which has already crippled the university's ability to function.

The drastic cuts have been proposed by New York's Mayor as a means of helping balance the city's budget. They would affect faculty salaries, student fees, and other university programs, student fees and payments for credits.

CUNY is traditionally a university for the poor and underprivileged of New York and has never charged "tuition fees" as such. But if "general fees" and payments for credits are raised, its usefulness in providing access to higher education for those otherwise unlikely to receive it will be eroded.

The Mayor's office has proposed raising fees between 100 and 250 per cent, for different categories of students, and raising payments for credits between 50 and 67 per cent. The saving of \$65.7m would be made by reducing the budget for faculty salaries by \$14.7m, for the Search for Educational Elevation and Knowledge (SEEEK) remedial programme by \$6.6m, by saving \$40.5m through increased fees and credit payments, and \$7.9m by increasing teaching loads.

Cuts made in the past have already "forced our colleges to

increase class sizes, consolidate class sections, eliminate course offerings, allow positions to remain vacant, curtail library acquisitions, and eliminate a broad range of badly needed support services for faculty and students", Dr Kibbee said.

The new cuts are proposed at a time when there has been "a dramatic increase in students for the current semester" and "an unexpected rise in applications for this coming fall".

CUNY expects 9,000 more students in September than were anticipated last autumn. Because of CUNY's open admissions policy, started in 1970, which allows all New York high school graduates, irrespective of academic merit, to enter the university, CUNY cannot cut back on student enrolment.

The Mayor's office has proposed retaining the SEEEK programme only as an agency for dispensing grants of up to \$50 a week to needy students. Dr Kibbee said that "financial support is only one part of a total programme that includes a well-designed mix of individual attention, special classes, counselling, tutoring, specially designed remedial classes and other support services." He claimed that removing "any of the components" would virtually destroy the programme.

Dr Kibbee, and other educationists in New York, are angry at the lack of prior consultation before the budget proposals were made. Alfred A. Giannini, chairman of the Board of Higher Education, said that "we are shocked by the size of the proposed reduction."



Cambridge (leading on the left with the Louvre in the background) won the Boat Race for the second time in 1975 when they beat Oxford by half a length in Paris on May 1. It was all part of the French capital's May Day celebrations.

Mozambique

Frelimo transforms university

by Joan Brickhill

LOURENÇO MARQUES
The University of Lourenço Marques is being radically transformed in line with Frelimo policies, according to the new principal, Professor Fernando dos Reis Ganhão.

The present siting in Lourenço Marques of all the faculties of Mozambique's only university is being strongly criticized. Decentralization is planned to enable each course to be studied in the most suitable place. For example, the engineering faculty is at present over 450 miles from Cahora Bassa, one of the most advanced engineering projects in the world; and agronomy and veterinary science (which are regarded as the most important courses) are clearly better suited to the rural areas.

The role of the students' union is being examined in the light of the recent establishment of Frelimo party committees at the university. Professor Ganhão said recently: "I don't know if, in an independent Mozambique, there will be any reason for a students' union, as that kind of organization corresponds to an already surpassed stage in the world student struggle. With the development of politicization they will be integrated in the student structures of Frelimo."

The university has been acknowledged a Frelimo stronghold. In the abortive White uprising of September one of the first targets was the student union building in Lourenço Marques. The canteen, which was destroyed during the attack, still stands unrepaired, a reminder of the desperate financial situation of the university and the country. Although Mozambique obviously needs graduates, Frelimo has to strike a balance between financing the education of the illiterate masses and the training of experts.

examining and restructuring the courses in its own department. At present, a further commission is studying the future unification of the *Comissões de Gestao*.

The senate has been replaced by a pedagogical council which comprises the heads of the commissions and elected representatives of the students. Administration is dealt with by a commission headed by the principal and composed of representatives of the staff, students and *Comissões de Gestao*.

Engineering and medicine are being structured to suit the needs of an under-developed African country. Radical changes are envisaged in the history and economics courses to focus on the history of Africa and the development of Mozambique and Frelimo. The economics course will be based on a Marxist analysis.

A large number of students have responded to the call for involvement and responsibility in the community. Medical students have organized free clinics in rural areas and assist doctors in the hospital of Lourenço Marques; students from other faculties are taking part in a major literacy campaign.

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Each commission has the task of

Noticeboard is compiled by Patricia Santinelli and Penny Bruce

'Affirmative action' call to help women and blacks

from Angela Stent

CAMBRIDGE, MASS
The affirmative action guidelines released by the Office of Civil Rights have come for a great deal of criticism recently. A few months ago, for instance, the Committee on Academic Nondiscrimination, led by Professor Sidney Hook of New York University, asked President Ford to "end the numbers game". Now, however, a new group has been formed to support affirmative action and its implementation.

The new national organization, the Committee for Affirmative Action in Universities, is led by Dr Gertrude Ezorsky, a philosophy professor at Brooklyn College and the City University Graduate Center. It has organized petitions around the country urging support for Washington's policies on the hiring of women, blacks and other minorities who are under-represented on faculties.

Critics of affirmative action claim that it has led to the establishment of employment quotas, where ability counts less than ethnic origin or sex. Often well-qualified white males are passed over in favour of less-qualified women and minorities.

The Committee for Affirmative Action denies that this is the case.

"Affirmative action does not require the hiring of unqualified persons or the imposing of a system of quotas," says Dr Gertrude Ezorsky. "People who attack hiring goals in affirmative action have yet to say what the government should do to make universities stop the historic massive discrimination against women and minorities that has been documented."

Harvard's Nobel laureate, Professor Linus Pauling, who supports the new organization, said that pressure for the academic hiring of women and minorities had to be increased. "Women and blacks," said Professor Linus Pauling, "really need assistance in this area."

Dr Kenneth Arrow, another Harvard economist who is a Nobel Laureate, has also signed petitions drafted by the organization, which has supporters on most major campuses and says that it has hundreds of signatures from professors to counter "the backlash among academic hardhats," as Dr Ezorsky described Dr Hook's committee.

The Office of Civil Rights says that affirmative action calls for goals and timetables, but not quotas, increased female and minority representation on faculties. The government can withhold funds from universities which fail to comply with the policy.

Australia New move over economics chair

by David Dickson

Moves are being made at the University of Sydney to reopen discussion over the appointment made by the university to a third chair of economics.

This follows the decision of a 12-man selection committee to recommend the appointment of Professor Gordon Mills, at present professor of economics at Kent University in Britain, to the post.

By doing so, the selection committee rejected an application for the post from Professor B. L. Wheelwright, currently associate professor in the department of economics, and a powerful advocate of a campaign to develop the teaching of political economy at the university (THESE, May 21).

In particular, Professor Wheelwright, to divide the department into two sections, one teaching "orthodox" economics and the other political economy.

The selection board's recommendation that Professor Mills be appointed was accepted by the university's professional board by a narrow vote on April 22.

A move to refer the issue back to a widened selection committee

\$100,000 inquiry by ICED

The International Council for Educational Development (ICED), a private international association concerned with problems of higher education, has been awarded a grant of DM. 500,000 (£100,000) from the Volkswagen Foundation to carry out a two-year comparative study of access to higher education in West Germany and the United States.

The study will be designed and managed by the German-US Study Group with Dr. James Perkins, chairman of ICED, as its chairman.

The study will centre on German and US criteria and policies necessary to handle the complexities of access to higher education.

Attention also will be given to: open access and numerous classes; the role of high school preparation; the availability of community colleges; the nature and use of testing systems; the possibility of curricular choices; and the presence of legal and constitutional restraints with special reference to federal systems.

The objective of the study is to provide guidelines to both institutions and governments to improve existing policies and procedures.

Codirectors of the study will be Professor Barbara Burn, director of

Open University programmes May 10 to 16

- Saturday May 10**
- 8.00-9.00: Ecology: Biological Control (18243; 18244; 18245; 18246; 18247; 18248; 18249; 18250; 18251; 18252; 18253; 18254; 18255; 18256; 18257; 18258; 18259; 18260; 18261; 18262; 18263; 18264; 18265; 18266; 18267; 18268; 18269; 18270; 18271; 18272; 18273; 18274; 18275; 18276; 18277; 18278; 18279; 18280; 18281; 18282; 18283; 18284; 18285; 18286; 18287; 18288; 18289; 18290; 18291; 18292; 18293; 18294; 18295; 18296; 18297; 18298; 18299; 18300; 18301; 18302; 18303; 18304; 18305; 18306; 18307; 18308; 18309; 18310; 18311; 18312; 18313; 18314; 18315; 18316; 18317; 18318; 18319; 18320; 18321; 18322; 18323; 18324; 18325; 18326; 18327; 18328; 18329; 18330; 18331; 18332; 18333; 18334; 18335; 18336; 18337; 18338; 18339; 18340; 18341; 18342; 18343; 18344; 18345; 18346; 18347; 18348; 18349; 18350; 18351; 18352; 18353; 18354; 18355; 18356; 18357; 18358; 18359; 18360; 18361; 18362; 18363; 18364; 18365; 18366; 18367; 18368; 18369; 18370; 18371; 18372; 18373; 18374; 18375; 18376; 18377; 18378; 18379; 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BOOKS

Morals and maxims

Vauvenargues and La Rochefoucauld by Peter Martin Fine
Methuen University Press, £3.75
ISBN 0 7190 0588 4

Did Voltaire misunderstand and underestimate Pascal's *Pensées*? Rousseau, La Fontaine's *Fables*? Vauvenargues, La Rochefoucauld's *Maximes*? While the attitude of the eighteenth-century thinkers towards the seventeenth-century moralists is clearly indicative of a new approach to the human condition it is not always easy to pin-point with accuracy the complicated and at times contradictory reactions of those thinkers to the classicists' views on man.

Peter Martin Fine has chosen a test-case: Vauvenargues's cross-examination of La Rochefoucauld. The choice is a good one and the comparative study of the two writers gives us a subtle and balanced assessment of the affinities and of the differences between them, both as individuals and as representatives of their age.

The starting-point is Vauvenargues's outspoken wish to defend human nature against La Rochefoucauld's harsh judgments, to restore man's self-esteem and replace pessimism by some degree of faith in the possibilities in us for self-improvement. What follows shows that in many ways Vauvenargues agreed with the results of La Rochefoucauld's psychological investigation. The disconcerting bore not so much in the workings of man's mind as on their moral value. Thus, whereas La Rochefoucauld stood in some awe of passions, for Vauvenargues passions on the whole were good and sensibility combined with intellectual faculties to produce the best approach to life. La Rochefoucauld's ascription of the all-pervading influence of self-love was modified by Vauvenargues' belief in Rousseau's so as to distinguish between selfishness (*amour-propre*) and basic self-interest (connected with a

different form of self-love, *amour de nous-mêmes*). Both La Rochefoucauld and Vauvenargues admired what in a man denoted a superior force of the soul (though one might wonder whether they meant the same thing when praising this element of force), and scorned weakness, mediocrity and sloth; the difference between them being that Vauvenargues would be ready to find many examples of excellence and La Rochefoucauld very few.

These important aspects of the two moralists' views are studied with a great care to resist oversimplification and to consider the evidence of the texts with critical impartiality. In spite of this scrupulous technique and of the solidity of the author's scholarship it seems that his sympathy is strongly attracted to the qualities of enthusiasm and generosity he finds in Vauvenargues's more idealistic pronouncements. His comments on La Rochefoucauld are firmly supported by references (perhaps somewhat selective), to a number of respectable critics but one might wish here for a more personal, and at times fuller, analysis. And he does not always question some of Vauvenargues's debatable interpretations of certain maxims. Although many remarks point to a strong vein of dilettantism in the eighteenth-century writer (very natural, no doubt, as Vauvenargues was for a time a tutor to a young nobleman), the obvious conclusion is not drawn: that where La Rochefoucauld was a moralist in the narrow connotation of the French term—an observer, not a teacher—Vauvenargues was probably more of a moralisateur. This is, however, in fact, it is an added merit of this book that it will stimulate the reader not only to reread Vauvenargues's works with a keener appreciation of their complexity but also to follow up many suggestive remarks and find new problems in the rich field of the moralist's universe.

Odette de Mourgues

Nights of the Terror

Paris and Its Provinces: 1792-1802
by Richard Cobb
Oxford University Press, £5.25
ISBN 0 19 2121 95 2

Few Oxford professors, I imagine, have swum across the Vieux Port at Marseilles to win a bet. Even if they have, I cannot think of any others who have described the feat in introductions to their scholarly works. The fact that Richard Cobb belongs to this select category does not make him a better—or a worse—historian. It does suggest, though, that he is not the kind of man to write history along conventional lines.

The first question posed by his new book is what is it about? Despite its title it has little to say of Paris itself, except on the importance of the Seine, as a means of earning a living and a barrier between those who lived on opposite banks. The "provinces" of Paris chosen very selectively: the *banlieue* of Paris and Versailles tells us very little indeed about the seat of the old court and the surrounding countryside. The axis of the book lies north-eastwards from Paris and extends as far as Brussels, which is certainly stretching things. Cobb's subject is not really the complex relationship between Paris and the surrounding countryside, about which he has already written a good deal. The first part of the book, for which the introduction sets the tone, is essentially about travel and its dangers during the revolutionary period; the central section, which the ordinary student will find the most informative, deals with the mixture of contempt, suspicion and fear with which Parisians, whether ordinary citizens or members of the alien population that encircled their city. Then, as in *Revolutions in the French Revolution*, comes a final chapter after bandits, this time the *bande juive* and *Salamandre*. It is an unusual way to compose a book and it means that any unifying principle must come from the author's approach to his material, since the material itself could scarcely be more antithetical.

Professor Cobb, himself a great exploiter of literary sources, tells his readers that "The task of the historian, especially if he is a specialist of social history, is very much akin to that of the novelist." What he means to have chiefly in mind is that the historian should dare to use his imagination, not in the sense of inventing likely evidence to fill the gaps, but in trying to relate the experiences of his subjects. Cobb perhaps succeeds in this so easily himself that he finds it difficult to let other writers. He has the novelist's eye for significant detail, such as the revolutionary robes of 1848 that recorded their proceedings in the minute-books abandoned by their predecessors in 1794, a remarkable sense of the concrete, a feeling for place and for atmosphere, a happy knack of getting it right.

This can be entertaining as well as apposite, for example, in his description of the heroine in which the royal family trundled towards the frontier as "a rumbling, barely mobile, Fortnum and Mason, Elzevire where he evokes the way in which fear takes on a new dimension at night: "The nights of the Terror, silent ones, were still and assuring calm, as they returned from the gamblers, as they returned from the tables, unrelieved from the other welcoming night sounds that form a memorable descriptive passage in Merle and in which he attributes the regular conception of many Parisians to the fact that it was published eye-witness account of the night of the 9th-10th thermidor, we can read: "Comme tout cela se passait la nuit, cela inquiétait beaucoup parce qu'il y avait de quoi s'agiter, parce que les 48 Sections pouvaient en plus tranquilles parce qu'on se voyait." There is no danger with Cobb, as with so many historians, that his recreations will seem to detract from the inventiveness of fiction. His attitudes are with novels like Balzac, though he himself might prefer a comparison to Stendhal.

landscape with figures, people who grow out of their environment or find environments to fit their particular protective colouring. It is not really people as individuals and certainly not people as representatives of any sort of abstract category, but people as people, that really arouse him. Perhaps he would like to have been Maigret; but one wonders if he reads the last chapters of all those Stendhal novels, for he himself is less concerned with discovering who actually did it than with showing that this is the kind of crime one would expect at this particular time, in this particular place. The best example here is the *bande juive*, which takes up the greater part of a chapter, since Cobb does not know, and probably does not care very much, whether it ever existed at all!

Dinah Jacob denounced to the police her husband, both her parents, three sisters, two of their husbands and about 80 other people, who were said to make up a gang of bandits. Only Cobb seems to find such people. The police authorities were as baffled as the historian by such virtuosity. They arrested as many as they could, had to release a good many for lack of evidence and the records fail to show their final verdict or the connexion—if any—between Dinah's dramatic *personae* and the crimes, themselves credited them. Most historians would sigh and leave this tantalizing fruit unpicked. What fascinates Professor Cobb, who perhaps recognizes Dinah as fellow artist, is her unerring sense of the dramatically appropriate and her capacity, if not for total recall, then at least for sustained invention. This is just how such people would have behaved if they had been bandits. It is as if we are ever likely to know and perhaps all we need to know. As Richard Cobb puts it, "It is with these new, enormous angles of vision, rather than with the reality of the existence of the *bande juive* that we are primarily concerned. . . . In other words, the historian of the case of the so-called 'Jewish organization' is that it poses redoubtable problems of interpretation, while at the same time throwing a mass of revealing light both on the assumptions and the judicial and repressive authorities and on the habits, language, appearances, frequentations and movements of groups of Jewish pedlars and merchants."

Where Dinah and her kin are concerned, this is fair enough. But Cobb is inclined to be content with the same kind of approach to political issues, when the question of whether suspicious and denunciations had any factual foundation is at least tentative answers. He only has the kind of knowledge that allows it to emerge as a subplot at all—the way in which cobwebs in Paris, such as the trial of Robespierre and the Cordeliers or the attempt of Pierre-Alexandre Danton to assassinate Robespierre, led the underground networks to suspect enemies in Paris with the cobwebs and alien countryside round about. Like Dinah's revelations, this is one of the reasons why he recreates it with such vigour and conviction.

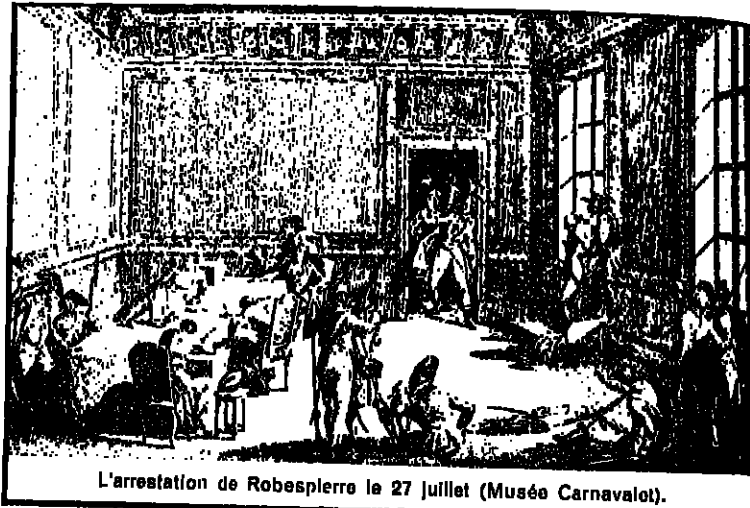
reaction or whether there really were some reds (or perhaps blacks) under some of the beds.

Arnaud de Lestapis has shown that the evidence linking Adam with the shadowy Baron de Batz was serious enough to justify the revolutionary government in suspecting that the disgraced dropout could have been a top in more dangerous hands. The forger, Roussel, who worked for Batz, was arrested at his house at Brice-Comte-Robert. The abbé d'Alençon, to whom Adam had revealed his plans, was hiding just outside Paris, at d'Alençon, and another of Batz's agents, Biret-Tissot, who had been captured at Saint-Germain, was allowed to escape. Batz himself had a house at Charonne, from which he may have escaped when it was raided by men from the *Section Lepelletier* in September, 1793. Batz also operated from Boulogne, where he seems to have had a base when he was on the run. All the evidence about Batz is riddled with coincidences, but there is enough to suggest that the government and the committee, even though they have been mistaken, had perfectly rational grounds for suspecting the counter-revolutionaries were operating in the *parcours de Paris*, and being protected by those who were supposed to be hunting them.

Where Richard Cobb's train joins the main lines of history one or two of his remarks are open to challenge. The thunder-shower that allegedly descended on the Commune's forces late on the night of 9 thermidor seems to have been a myth. More seriously it does not appear to have been the case that public worship in Paris continued after the dechristianization campaign. Guittard, the author of the recently published diary, is quite explicit about this. "On a continué aujourd'hui dimanche 3 mars [1795] à dire la messe partout dans Paris publiquement, dans les chambres, des appartements, des salles et quelques chapelles de couvent. . . . Les Eglises ont été entièrement fermées dimanche 8 décembre [1793] on a recommencé à dire des messes dans plusieurs endroits de Paris, non pas dans les paroisses, puisqu'elles étaient fermées mais dans d'autres endroits; mais le dimanche 15 on a cessé."

After the chase and the bandits Cobb's conclusion will convince only the inappreciable romantic. This *laudator temporis acti* claims that there is no continuity between the period he has illuminated with his "extended angle of vision" and the present. "As teenagers murder publicans" and "we are left with only a uniform drabness, a common all-enveloping ugliness." Dinah was certainly anything but drab, but is there so much difference between murdering an eighteenth-century innkeeper and a twentieth-century publican, between robbery with violence in a cabaret or a taxi, apart from the patina of time? There is a curious paradox running through all Richard Cobb's recent work, between his longing for violence in the present and his fascination with the past. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why he recreates it with such vigour and conviction.

Norman Hannan



L'arrestation de Robespierre le 27 juillet (Musée Carnavalet).

BOOKS

Creating man in their own image

Self-Determination in Social Work: The International Library of Welfare and Philosophy
edited by F. E. McDermott
Routledge and Kegan Paul, £4.80 and £2.40
ISBN 0 7100 1980 and 7981

This is primarily a collection of articles on the theme of self-determination, most of which have appeared elsewhere.

The first part on the principle of client self-determination consists of well-known articles by social work theorists and two by philosophers. The second part is composed of essays by philosophers on self-determination, positive and negative, freedom, individual rights and related concepts. This part is unconnected with the first in the sense that none of the writers was addressing himself to the particular issue of client self-determination as it is conceived in social work theory. Social workers and members of other "helping professions" might be well-advised to read this second part first and thus to come to grips with closely argued reasoning by philosophers who yet arrive at different conclusions about the elusive nature of

human freedom, the possibility of a margin of self-determination in a deterministic world, and problems of whether natural rights are inherent in the human person.

The two parts are related to each other by a closely argued introduction by the editor, F. E. McDermott, a philosopher who has undertaken the difficult task of trying to bring two worlds into coherent communication with each other. The task is hazardous because neither group had in mind the preoccupations of the other; moreover each is trained and competent in his or her own field but betrays a certain naivety about that of the other.

The subject is made more complex because the philosophers are apt to create man in their own intellectual image, while the case workers, largely experience men when he is constructed by physical disability or his own divided self, poverty or distorted family relationships, or rootlessness and isolation or under the compulsive influence of drink or drugs. It is doubtful if it was part of the agenda away from the nineteenth century to come to grips with closely argued reasoning by philosophers who yet arrive at different conclusions about the elusive nature of

might be helped to regain some control over the course of their own lives. But what some would regard as protecting and funding the client's flicker of motivation until he becomes able to choose between alternative styles of life others stigmatize as trying to make people whose distress is caused by social circumstances conform to the case workers' social values.

Social work action whether ultimately undertaken in the interests of freedom or conformity constantly runs the risk of paternalism, of making decisions, providing services or determining goals for rather than with people, of knowing best what they ought to want or choose. Today, because of the many philosophical, psychological and sociological dilemmas inherent in the principle of self-determination it seems to have reemerged under the new title of participation. This involves the concept of a group rather than an individual slant but its nature is not changed, though the persistence of the concept is demonstrated.

Self-determination equated with negative freedom is familiar to social workers as freedom from as distinct from freedom to. It is arguable that social work intervention does no more than help to free people from internal, interpersonal and environmental constraints.

Archives

The first of four volumes reporting the results of a survey of twentieth-century British political archives has been published by Macmillan at £10. *Sources in British Political History 1900-1951*, compiled by a team led by Dr. Chris Cook, senior research officer at the British Library of Political and Economic Science, is a *Guide to the Archives of Selected Organizations and Societies*—political parties, societies, trade unions, institutions and pressure groups active in British politics from 1900-1951.

Entries, which are arranged in alphabetical order, describe the nature of the records and the terms of their availability for research. One of the objectives of this six-year project was to ensure the preservation of such records, and where they are not accessible for research to encourage those responsible to make them so, by depositing them in libraries and records offices. This has been successful with societies such as The League of Nations Union (which is no longer active) whose papers have been deposited with the B.L.P.E.S.

Volume 2, which will be published late in 1975, will cover the private papers of some 1,500 senior public servants; the third volume will deal with the papers of Members of Parliament and the fourth with the papers of editors, publicists, academics and intellectuals.

Eileen Youngusband

Without the human touch

Power, Persistence, and Change: A Second Study of Banbury since 1900 by Margaret Stacey, Eric Rastone, Colin Bell and Anne Murrice
Routledge and Kegan Paul, £4.95 and £2.50
ISBN 0 7100 7995 8 and 80182

Community studies have become distinctly unfashionable in British sociology in recent years. The growing dominance of theory and theorizing has meant that despite the rapid increase in the size of the sociology profession, knowledge of the rich detail of social life in our own society seems to be on the decline. *Power, Persistence, and Change* is therefore a most important book, particularly as it is a follow-up of a study carried out some twenty years earlier.

Like its predecessor, the book examines a number of facets of social life in Banbury. The work situation, religion, voluntary associations, political parties and the power structure, the family, neighbourhood relations and social class all find their place. Some of these topics appear as isolated studies, rather than as contributions to an overall view of Banbury. This may be partly due to the difficulties the researchers found in combining the data gathered from participant observation with the quantitative material derived from questionnaire interviews. But it is also a reflection of the way in which the variety of social life in Banbury is not closely integrated or unified. Nevertheless a good overall picture of change in Banbury since the first study is given. With a population increased from 19,000 to 25,000 and a projected increase to 40,000 new housing estates have been built, and new industries and migrant workers have moved in. Banbury has become less "middle class". The decline of the Liberal party in the town has meant that the Labour party, now in the council chamber, has become more integrated into the social and political structure. There is thus more opportunity for the representation of manual workers in the power structure. Yet the analysis of decision-making on the project to expand the town to a projected 70,000 population illustrates very well how power remains concentrated. Involved in the decision-making were the political parties and business groups. Few manual workers even attended a public meeting. Even those whose homes would have been demolished under the expansion scheme paid no attention to the issue: to them it was "something remote and unreal."

Since the earlier study, social cleavages in Banbury have become less sharp. Social divisions based on religion, political party and social class are now much less clearly apparent upon one another. Social class divisions have themselves become blurred, and no clear-cut views of "class" and "status" were shared by the residents. At the same time, the authors find it possible to identify a dominant class in Banbury, despite the lack of a clear-cut social structure.

For planners and politicians the problem of the Third World cities is their rapid growth as a result of the influx of migrants from rural areas and the high birth rates among the young urban population. Kenneth Little uses an alternative sociological definition of urbanization, "the cumulative accentuation of characteristics distinctive of the mode of life associated with the growth of cities". He provides in this short book a most useful summary of the literature describing the adaptation made by Africans to city life, covering a wide range of topics. For this reason the book will be popular as a student text.

The emphasis however is on those who do successfully adapt. Thus a section on social mobility gives

tinguishing this from both a middle social level and a lower social class who have little stake in the control and distribution of scarce resources. The analysis of neighbourhood relations, based on participant observation carried out in particular streets in different residential areas, stands out in that it captures something of the human flavour of social life which is missing elsewhere in the book. The chapter on religion, while useful, does not really convey the social significance of religion in Banbury, and the one on work does little more than make a few distinctions between large and small firms: it is a pity that the family could not have been more closely tied in with neighbourhood relations.

In the end the book is a little disappointing since human detail of social life is rather scarce than might have been expected. Perhaps it is too short, though briefly has its advantages. The text is very readable and the authors have managed to put a mass of material in its 35 pages, leaving aside the appendices. Its strength lies not so much in the overall depiction of Banbury, but rather in the wide range of empirical findings of theoretical significance for sociologists working in such fields as politics, the family, social stratification, voluntary associations and religion.

David Berry

Growth of the cities

Urbanization as a Social Process: An Essay on Movement and Change in Contemporary Africa
by Kenneth Little
Routledge and Kegan Paul, £3.20 and £1.80
ISBN 0 7100 7931 1 and 7932 X

After the chase and the bandits Cobb's conclusion will convince only the inappreciable romantic. This *laudator temporis acti* claims that there is no continuity between the period he has illuminated with his "extended angle of vision" and the present. "As teenagers murder publicans" and "we are left with only a uniform drabness, a common all-enveloping ugliness." Dinah was certainly anything but drab, but is there so much difference between murdering an eighteenth-century innkeeper and a twentieth-century publican, between robbery with violence in a cabaret or a taxi, apart from the patina of time? There is a curious paradox running through all Richard Cobb's recent work, between his longing for violence in the present and his fascination with the past. Perhaps this is one of the reasons why he recreates it with such vigour and conviction.

gins of university graduates than on the search for work by the poor or their alienation between wage employment and self-employment. The chapter on work deals predominantly with wage earners in the modern bureaucratic structures or the foreign dominated industrial companies; there is little on the "informal economy" of the petty traders, artisans and services workers. The discussion of social class dwells on status groups among the relatively affluent and not upon the tensions between rich and poor or the applicability of our western terminology—proletariat, lumpenproletariat and so on—to the latter. Race relationships between the newly dominant African groups and the established white colonial rulers or the trading Indian and Lebanese communities are given more space than is class. The poor, recent migrant from the rural areas is peripheral to his study, for, by definition, he is not yet urbanized.

The social process of adaptation is seen as the genesis of new patterns of social relationships, new types of associations, changing marital roles, ethnicity in novel contexts.

one hand the urban migrant needs to be set more firmly in an explanation of the current economic changes taking place in these countries, changes which determine the urban culture to which the migrant is invited to adapt, and which he in turn helps to create. On the other hand, I should have liked more discussion of the choices open to the individual migrant, of the reasons why some migrants do adapt while others remain peripheral or marginal to urban society.

At the beginning Little lauds the contributions made by British social anthropologists to African urban studies through their methods of participant observation. Yet subsequently he refers to "sociological" factors. The social anthropologist has hitherto experienced little comparison from scholars of other disciplines in describing the social life of African cities; yet for the sake of the discipline a clearer, and maybe more dogmatic, statement of its own specific contribution would be welcome from an author who is a social anthropologist with long experience of urban fieldwork.

Peter J. Lloyd

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BOOKS

Tales of Arabian knights

Revolutionary Transformation in the Arab World: Habash and his Comrades from Nationalism to Marxism

by Walid W. Kazziha
Charles Knight, £2.00
ISBN 0 85314 237 X

For all the publicity that has surrounded the activities of revolutionary groups in the Arab world of late years, especially the Palestinian extremists, surprisingly little information is available in the West about their origins and their relationship to one another. That there was a loose-knit underground organization called the 'Movement of Arab Nationalists', with branches in several Arab countries, has been known for some years, but its exact connexion with groups like the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine and the Democratic Popular Front was clouded, and the place in it of such well-known figures as George Habbash and Wadi Haddad of the PFLP and Nayif Hawatima of the DFLP was equally obscure. Now Dr Walid Kazziha has opened the shutters on the Arab Nationalists' Movement, not to their fullest extent perhaps but enough to allow some light in and to enable us to see the outlines, at least, of this shadowy organization and its even more shadowy principals.

It is a brave action on his part, for he was himself an active member of the Arab Nationalists' Movement for eight years (from 1957 to 1965), and secret societies as a rule do not look kindly upon the publication of revelations about them by former votaries.

The first of Dr Kazziha's revelations, that the ANM had its beginnings in the years 1950-52, as a 'literary' society at the American University of Beirut, occasions little surprise. That institution has come a long way from what its founders a century ago, conceived to be its purpose and function. The second revelation that it was a group of Palestinian students, led by George Habbash and Wadi Haddad, and inspired by the preachings of those notable nationalist divines, Qasim Zureyk and Fayiz Sayigh, who founded the movement, was equally predictable. What was less apparent before, and even here emerges only faintly, is how slight was the numerical strength of the ANM, especially in view of the mystique which it gathered about it in later years. Most of its members were recruited from students at the AUB, who in turn came mostly from the middle ranks of Palestinian and Lebanese society. A few more converts were made among students who came to the AUB from other Arab countries.

On their return home, some of them, in company with Palestinian émigrés who went to work in Syria, Egypt, Iraq or Kuwait, established new cells of the movement in these countries. But their numbers were not great. Dr Kazziha says that only 15 Syrians had been recruited by 1960, and the ANM did not regard itself initially as a mass movement but rather as an elite 'growing group' of young intellectuals who, by argument and exhortation, would rouse the governments of the Arab states to the performance of their duty to avenge the shameful defeat in Palestine in 1948 and to eradicate all traces of Western imperialism and Zionism in the Middle East.

The ANM, as its name indicates, was intensely nationalist, and its predominantly Palestinian leadership made the defeat of Israel the overriding goal of the movement. For the Jews of Israel there was to be only one grim choice—expulsion or extermination. Moreover, as Dr Kazziha makes clear, the ANM refused to distinguish between everywhere was its enemy and must be crushed. The Arabs could only triumph if they were united, and the ANM pinned their hopes for the unification of the Arab states upon Nasser. He was their hero and their paladin until the second disastrous defeat in 1967.

The amalgamation of several Palestinian factions to form the Palestine Liberation Organization in 1964 stole some of the ANM's thunder, and it also marked, although it did not initiate, a shift in both the strategy and the organization of the movement. Up to 1960, Dr Kazziha recounts, the ANM had adhered to its 'theory of the separation of stages', that is to say, the political integration of the Arab states and the defeat of Zionism and Western imperialism had to be achieved before the Arabs could turn their attention to social and economic reform. Now some of the ANM's central committee began to argue (and more particularly after the break-up of the union between Egypt and Syria in 1967) that the movement's original aim, when the headquarters of the ANM was moved from Damascus to Beirut, that the struggle was as much against feudalism and capitalism as it was against Zionism and imperialism, and that the movement should widen its appeal so as to encompass the Arab masses.

By 1964 the radicals, led by the Lebanese Muhsin Ibrahim and the Palestinian Nayif Hawatima, were at odds with the 'old guard', led

by Habbash and his fellow Palestinian, Wadi Haddad. Habbash now organized the National Front for the Liberation of Palestine from the Palestinian members of the ANM, partly in response to the formation of the PLO but also to offset the growing influence of the radical 'theoreticians' of the movement.

The two wings remained in uneasy harmony until the aftermath of the overwhelming defeat of the Arab armies by Israel in 1967. That defeat destroyed the ANM's faith in Nasser and led it to condemn his regime and those of the other 'progressive' Arab states as 'petty bourgeois'. Habbash was at one with the rest of the ANM leadership in declaring that henceforth the only road for the movement to take was that of the armed struggle of the masses against Zionism, imperialism and the Arab 'reactionary classes', and he altered the name of the NLF to the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. But Habbash had not travelled as far along this road as had Ibrahim and his followers, so that the gap between them still existed. It widened rapidly in the next two years, splitting the ANM wide open, not just the Palestinian-Lebanese leadership in Beirut but every branch of the movement elsewhere, destroying whatever cohesion it might have had as a pan-Arab organization. Hawatima established the Democratic Popular Front as a challenge to Habbash's PFLP, and before 1969 was out the two groups were fighting openly in the streets of Beirut. The descent from there to today's senseless terrorism has been a steep and ugly one.

Dr Kazziha modestly disclaims any intention of attempting a thoroughgoing assessment of the role of the ANM in Arab political life in the past 20 years, but even so he has given us a most valuable outline of the movement's origins and evolution, and for this we are much indebted to him. He makes the point towards the close of his book that, for all its claims of late years to be a revolutionary movement, the ANM never made any headway among the Arab masses. The only country in which it has achieved a purely tactical success is south Yemen, where the Marxist-Leninist National Liberation Front has set up its own version of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Otherwise the ANM remains what perhaps it has always been, a small intellectual, manoeuvring out their lives with coffee spoons in the clubs and cafés of Beirut.

J. B. Kelly

History seen as a conflict of forces

Descent from Power: British Foreign Policy 1945-1973 by P. S. Northedge
Allen and Unwin, £6.00 and £2.75
ISBN 0 04 327050 6 and 32051 4

Current British Foreign Policy 1972 edited by D. C. Watt and J. Mayall
Temple Smith, £12.50
ISBN 0 8511 7060 9

As it is to be expected from so accomplished a scholar, Professor Northedge has provided an account full of pertinent facts and figures of post-war British foreign policy with all the major events carefully and judiciously set out. It will be welcomed by the hard pressed student and general reader who wants the facts without frills, and in particular, the spread of policy in a particular area. The Berlin blockade and the making of the North Atlantic Treaty are summed up in 11 pages; the Suez crisis of 1956 in 15; Rhodesia and the Commonwealth in the 1960s in 14. Given the author's intention to provide a reliable narrative of British policy—a glance at the index reveals how wide the net has been cast—the treatment given even to the landmarks of British policy are

not a criticism to point out that the account in parts reads like an expanded account of carefully worked out lectures emphasizing the major 'factor', or the three or four elements which created a particular situation or affected policy. The chief virtues of the book require foregoing the excitements of a more personal approach.

Professor Northedge is mainly concerned with the underlying forces that shaped Britain's relations with the rest of the world. He contrasts the pinnacle of prestige Britain had reached at the close of the Second World War with her lack of substance of real power; only a few months after Yalta, Britain had to apply for 'national assistance' in Washington. His approach is that of the international relations expert. He concludes that because of the nature of the 'geopolitical' forces, hardly any action by the British government in the post-war period could have done anything to arrest or reverse the British decline. He concedes that serious mistakes may have been made, but they affected the position of the country relatively little attention to the human and personal elements of policy making. This history reads like a conflict of forces; it is not

of individual leaders and politicians grappling with the problems of their day and judging them on the basis of their experience of the past and their hopes for the future.

The book is for those who like detachment, but there is undeniably a lack of life about it all. Some may also question the thesis that in its broad development the course of British foreign policy was inevitable. What great British statesman had seen in 1950 that Britain was a part of continental Europe and should provide it with leadership? Instead there has been a certain unity about British policy between the wars and after, in the qualified and the partial commitment to Europe.

D. C. Watt and J. Mayall have provided us with the third annual reference volume of documentation on British foreign policy. What is noteworthy is that this selection is the entirely independent work of two scholars and not an official publication. The thousands of pages are not intended for general reading, but the excellent indexes make it possible to look up some pertinent statements and documents on many issues of significance. This is a valuable reference work and for many this series continues.

J. A. S. Green

BOOKS

The power of invisible power

Power: A Radical View by Steven Lukes
Macmillan, 75p
ISBN 333 16672 8

How to locate power has occasioned a vigorous and sometimes emotional debate amongst political scientists over the past 20 years. At issue are fundamental epistemological assumptions about the nature of valid evidence and proper inference in the social sciences, from which radically different conclusions about the distribution of power in Western democracies have been reached.

Steven Lukes's contribution is a concise and characteristically powerful essay. His point of departure is Bachrach and Baratz's influential critique of Dahl's celebrated study of power in New Haven, Connecticut, *Who Governs?* Dahl's conception of power, the argument went, was narrowly 'one-dimensional'. It was confined to its visible manifestations only, in particular the actions of individuals in decision-making over public issues on which there was observable conflict.

But it neglected the other, hidden side of power involved in 'non-decision-making': the agenda-setting capacity to suppress or deflect potential issues from entering the political arena in the first place; the power to produce a 'false consensus' by shaping people's beliefs and preferences even against their best interests; and the more subtle, unconscious domination exercised by those whose existing reputation for power induced a fatalistic compliance among others (the power of 'anticipated reactions'). Thus what might appear to be high levels of consensus and satisfaction in a community were not necessarily incompatible with the existence of powerful elites selfishly serving their own interests at the expense of the majority. In the latest stage of the controversy Dahl and his defenders have energetically counter-charged their critics of constructing non-falsifiable, but politically biased accounts of how power is exercised on the basis of such slick but nebulous notions as 'non-issues' and 'non-decision-making'. In other words, through the use of non-concepts and non-evidence.

Lukes attempts to transcend the current state of debate by propos-

ing a 'three-dimensional' view of power, about which two important claims are made. One is that it is 'empirically useful in that hypotheses can be framed in terms of it that are in principle verifiable and falsifiable' (my italics); the other is that it is politically and methodologically radical. Without wishing to deny the genuine advances in Lukes's argument, I think these claims are unconvincing.

To begin with, no radically different 'third' dimension is really added. Instead, Bachrach and Baratz are taken to task for 'following their adversaries too closely', in particular for concentrating on individual decision-makers rather than the power of 'collective forces and social arrangements', and for retaining their opponents' positivist conceptions of power, conflict and grievance. This may be true of Bachrach and Baratz's disappointing attempt to apply the two-dimensional view empirically in their *Power and Poverty*, but it is unfair comment on their position, or that of their allies, in general. Lukes is really a proponent of a more thoroughgoing version of the three-dimensional view, and his third dimension boils down to little more than polishing off the job that Bachrach and Baratz began so sloppily.

Clearly more radical, however, is the claim that instances of 'invisible power' can be empirically verified, at least in principle. Unlike many radicals, Lukes is sensitive to the need for political sociology to be conducted according to the normal canons of inferential logic. He therefore acknowledges that assertions of 'invisible power' are only convincing if accompanied by (a) the 'relevant counterfactual' (i.e. 'grounds for asserting that if A had acted (or failed to act) in a certain way... then B would have thought and acted differently from the way he does think and act'; and (b) the means or mechanism by which A prevails over B. Lukes proceeds to back his claim by quoting extensively from a recent study of pollution as a political issue in municipalities in the United States. This study showed that the emergence and resolution of the issue tended to be longest delayed in company towns, not because the dominant corporation actively intervened but as a result of its silence and inactivity, and in particular its reputation for massive power and the operation of anticipated reactions. But one

question immediately arises. From where did the corporation's formidable reputation originate if not from some earlier occasion on which it demonstrated its power to a substantial public, and thus presumably in a highly visible and 'one-dimensional' way?

The 'in principle' clause, moreover, reveals something of the difficulties of applying the three-dimensional view. Lukes concedes that evidence of the quality he demands is hard to find, and the other two examples he provides (the Prague Spring, and religious conversion amongst the lower castes of India) bear distinct marks of barrel-scrapping. He might also have added that the relevant counterfactual will be disputable where two or more candidates coexist: a student of French power structure, for example, must come to terms with the rapid succession of the events of May and the Gaullist electoral landslide in 1968, when first the normal powers of the state and then the social pressures of the trade union and student movements were temporarily suspended. But Lukes dismisses pessimism as unwarranted and approvingly quotes the ironic riposte of a fellow-radical: 'Why let things be difficult when, with just a little more effort, we can make them seem impossible?'

I think this is simply too cavalier. For what in fact is the researcher to do in the absence of Moscow or Warsaw Springs—where convincing evidence for the existence of invisible power does not exist? Presumably the logical answer is to return to the verdict of 'not proven', although this is never made explicit by Lukes. That would certainly meet the charges of logical carelessness so persistently levelled by Dahl and his colleagues against their radical critics, and in this sense the three-dimensional view would indeed incorporate and supersede earlier conceptions of power. But I doubt if this will happen. Instead, I suspect, Lukes's book will strengthen the well-known Law of the Monotonous Exception: comforted in opposite ways by the single example of pollution in the United States, confirmed radicals and pluralists alike will continue to assert or deny the existence of invisible power in the absence of substantiating evidence.

Ivor Crewe

Two faces of the Party

Cours, Comrade, le PCF est terrifié toi
by Michèle Manceaux and Jacques Donzelot Gallimard
Histoire Secrète du Parti Communiste Français
by Roland Gaucher
Editions Albin Michel
ISBN 2 226 00903 4

The recent opinion poll recording a mere 14 per cent support for the French Communist Party can have caused little anxiety to the authors of these two recent books on 'The Party'. For immediately and continuously apparent in both these works is the strong aversion of the writers for their subject matter. It is, however, from opposite extremes of the political spectrum that these attacks are launched: Michèle Manceaux and Jacques Donzelot are clearly the products of May 1968. Roland Gaucher is more identifiable with the Cold War and 10 years' experience on the staff of the extreme right-wing newspaper *Minute*.

Not surprisingly, their criticisms of the party are very different. Manceaux and Donzelot attack the harshly authoritarian attitude of the party towards those whose interests it claims to represent, those who suffer most from the existing economic and political order. Their book is about the party at the present time, it deals with a number of strikes and other conflicts of the period November 1972 to June 1973. It is organized in three sets of 'inquiries' (all including numerous interviews and conversations)—the factory, the school and

conclusions are drawn. In this way the authors describe and analyse attempts by the party and its ancillary organizations to take over and direct, or to destroy, spontaneously created protest movements. They neutralize the disruptive outbursts of *gauchistes*, and to substitute accepted forms of social conflict (short, large-scale demonstrations of power such as one-day strikes, organized protest marches and brief periods of work to rule) for the more aggressive activities of the extreme Left (such as long strikes, factory occupations and kidnappings of officials) the *Parti Communiste Français* not only reinforces its own position and influence but also tacitly conspires to uphold the existing elitist social and political system.

'People's' systems to be the basic belief of the writers; hence the party cannot be forgiven for its constant efforts 'to subjugate the masses rather than to support them'. The Gaucher book is very different in its subject area, method, style and criticisms. It purports to 'explore the hidden face of the Communist Party from its creation to the present day. Starting from the assertion that there existed and still exists an all-powerful underground apparatus in the PCF, Gaucher produces a seemingly unending series of 'scandals' which illustrate the extralegal, treacherous, pacifist activities of this Kremlin-like directed and financed mafia. To complete the picture, he exposes one or two skeletons in the cupboard of almost every well-known communist leader. The con-

clusions are drawn. In this way the authors describe and analyse attempts by the party and its ancillary organizations to take over and direct, or to destroy, spontaneously created protest movements. They neutralize the disruptive outbursts of *gauchistes*, and to substitute accepted forms of social conflict (short, large-scale demonstrations of power such as one-day strikes, organized protest marches and brief periods of work to rule) for the more aggressive activities of the extreme Left (such as long strikes, factory occupations and kidnappings of officials) the *Parti Communiste Français* not only reinforces its own position and influence but also tacitly conspires to uphold the existing elitist social and political system.

Sadly, neither of these books relates anything very new or even very interesting. The one is more a left-wing tract than a serious study, the other more an encyclopaedia than an historical survey. In Gaucher's production the works of Bon, Krieger, Laurens and Pfister, Tiersky and even with the recent book by Harris and de Sedouy neither Gaucher nor Manceaux and Donzelot provide really useful additions to our knowledge of the PCF.

Howard Machin

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BOOKS

Diplomatic yes or no!

The Foreign Policy of France from 1914 to 1945
by J. Néré
Routledge and Kegan Paul, £7.95
ISBN 0 7100 7968 0

It is said that when a pretty girl says no she means perhaps, and when she says perhaps she means yes; in contrast when a diplomat says yes he means perhaps, and when he says perhaps he means no. In so far as this remark applies to diplomacy, it would appear to be particularly true of French foreign policy in the inter-war years. The Allies' victory of 1918 was admittedly Pyrrhic, and France was left in a very weak position after her chief allies, the United States and Great Britain, in effect decided to wash their hands of European involvement after 1920. Nevertheless, France, for all her weaknesses, would have done better to have acted with a little more consistency between 1920-40. Again and again she appeared to say yes when she meant no; over Rhineland separation in the early 1920s; over the extent and desirability of reparations; over her guarantees to the little entente countries of central Europe (admittedly both difficult allies); over the Austrian Anschluss and the reoccupation of the Rhineland; over her attitude to Fascist Italy, Republican Spain, and the Soviet Union.

Professor Néré takes us through this labyrinth of problems with some skill, but considerable unevenness. He is unfortunate in that by no means all the *Documents Diplomatiques Français* for the inter-war years have been released; for example, those which cover the Munich crisis and the Franco-Soviet negotiations of the summer of 1939 are still not available because of the 50-year rule, whilst others were destroyed during the war. This unfortunate situation of course raises great problems for an historian who is attempting to update and reinterpret the distinguished work of P. Renouvin and J. B. Duroselle.

The best feature of Néré's book is his Spinoza-like approach to his subject: "Do not laugh, do not weep, try to understand." It is salutary for students of international affairs to be reminded of France's weakness and isolation between the wars. Only then does the indecision of her policy become comprehensible. Néré rightly emphasizes that France was bleached white in the First World War (proportionately she suffered much more than Germany or the British Empire); that, because of her demographic stagnation between 1880-1940, she was falling farther and farther behind Germany in the numbers of men of military age; that she lost 94 per cent of her industrial capacity in wool, 90 per cent in linen, 80 per cent in steel, and 55 per cent in coal between 1914-18.

As a result France was psychologically in a semi-stupor in the inter-war years. In spite of all her sacrifices, Versailles had not given her security. She was literally terrified by the threat posed by her huge neighbour to the north, but her people, and the politicians who represented them, were unwilling to consider anything but a defensive strategy. France gave the impression that in her anguish she would turn to anyone who would help her: to the British, who wanted above all to avoid continental commitments until it finally became apparent that someone would have to face up to Hitler; to the Italians, at the time of the Stresa front of 1935; to the little entente countries; to the Russians in 1939. By trying to find friends everywhere the French ended up by being distrusted by everyone. Néré shows that this distrust for one factor which led the Russians to reject French advances in the summer of 1939 in favour of an equally unreliable association with Germany.

Apart from his masterly description of the atmosphere in which French diplomacy operated in the inter-war years, Néré is at his best in the chapters dealing with the political and economic repercussions of the reparations problem and of the Wall Street crash, and with the policy pursued by Aristide Briand, French Foreign Minister from 1925-32.

Néré neither idolizes Briand, as European idealists have tended to do since the war, nor does he vilify him, as did his nationalistic contemporaries. Briand's great achievement was not so much the Locarno Treaties or the ending of reparations, but his very real success in obtaining a more relaxed "moral atmosphere", or "climate of détente". His tragedy was that the man who became Chancellor of Germany in 1933 was interested neither in morals nor in détente, and so all the patient work of Briand and Stressemann was dissipated.

The worst feature of this book is that it has been very badly translated. The translator keeps on breaking into the present tense, apparently unaware that there is no English equivalent to French historic present. Incoherent sentences are littered throughout the book, such as: "However, when the countries disarmed, the problem would not be solved". There are constant references to "the reparations" when correct English requires only "repairs", and *président du conseil* should be translated as prime minister, not as president of the council, as seems extraordinary that publishers should decide that a book is worth translating (which this one is), and then publish it in pidgin English.

Ronald Irving

Flavoured gossip

Diaries 1949-1959

by Drew Pearson
edited by Tyler Abell
Cape, £7.50
ISBN 0 244 01054 9

The political columnist is an American speciality, and a very necessary one. Lacking a disciplined party system, active party headquarters, legislative-executive loyalties (which under other political systems come from the comradeship of past political battles) the congressman needs guidance. He needs to be steered through the whirlpools of congressional committees, the vagaries of regulatory commission business and to be given some clue to White House opinion, for congressmen are not invited to the presidential press conferences, and are becoming anywhere formal and stage-managed. On constituency issues he is the mass but on national and international matters the issues are too complex and the tonnage of paper too overwhelming. The columnist with his team of assistants and his network of informants will produce a story, an opinion, a forecast, setting the scene for a more informed discussion. With the exception of those whose committees deal with foreign affairs the average congressman's views on foreign matters are (like those of his informed constituents) the views of his favourite columnist.

The traditions of American journalism still hold that newspapers give facts, and editorialists give opinions, and the two must not be mixed. The columnist's mixture is flavoured to his own tastes and those of his readers.

Drew Pearson (Andrew Russell Pearson 1897-1969) was a standard eastern-seaboard White Anglo-Saxon Protestant. Educated at Exeter Academy and Swarthmore (where his father was professor of public speaking) his Quaker idealism found normal outlet in assisting his father in organizing Quaker meetings, but supporting Woodrow Wilson's aim to make the world safe for democracy, in 1919, doing relief work with the American Friends Service Committee in Serbia. From there he travelled to Europe, preparing himself for a career in journalism as a foreign affairs specialist. In 1929 he settled in Washington, where he presented the *Baltimore Sun* and in 1932 with Robert S. Allen he wrote *Washington Round-Up*. The *Sun* fired him, but by November 1932, the *Washington Evening Star* bought the name of the Pearson. Allen syndicated column, which appeared

Herald. The column was not his sole activity. Radio and TV news programmes followed and he was an active lobbyist and fundraiser often acting as the unofficial lender and stimulator of groups of senators and congressmen whose campaigns needed help. An early "new dealer" and internationalist his diaries show him as a relatively uncomplicated conservative with a suspicion of big business pressure on government, and, despite his Quaker internationalism, a deep dislike and contempt for all foreigners—and most Republicans.

The diaries are gossip jottings about the scandals, political, financial and personal, which have broken or are about to break in Washington. They are likely to leave the reader not a little frustrated for being diary entries, narratives are not developed, and the "background" footnotes (by the editor) are none too frequent. The judgments however are not unclear. He hated Senator Joe McCarthy and made this public. Eisenhower he despised as a bovine, militarily useless and no genius in military matters. Pearson began as a severe critic of the undistinguished Missouri Senator who owed his start in politics to the corrupt Pendergast machine, but like others who watched him grow he finished up admiring Harry Truman—Truman did know what politics was about and did not shrink his presidential responsibilities.

Diaries record the writer's thoughts at the date of the entry: that Wilbur Mills was once a young progressive whose campaigns were actively assisted by Pearson and Allen; that Edgar Hoover of the FBI (with whom Pearson was at times friendly) thought Felix Frankfurter the most dangerous man in the United States; that Jack Kennedy was the breakings of a first-class fascist; that the new senator from Massachusetts, Joseph P. Kamp, was a "democratic" who gets to him first, Democratic nomination; that Jack Kennedy, a somewhat old-fashioned Catholic, never overcame his hostility to organized Catholicism.

Pearson's life was writing, talking, exposing, and agitating. Sometimes, carried, often right, he wielded great power, power that in American terms is on a par with legitimacy. He was a son of his master, Harry Truman called him a son of his master, carried on his master's work drawing forth, no doubt, the same sentiments from the recluses of San Clemente.

R. H. Pear

War victim

The Government and Politics of East Germany
by Kurt Sontheimer and Wilhelm Bleek
translated by Ursula Price
Hutchinson, £5.25
ISBN 0 09 122020 3

The division of Germany is a direct consequence of the war that Hitler lost. The Potsdam Agreement provided for a united Germany, but only on an economic basis but to be followed later by political unity. France was the only occupying power originally interested in the division of Germany. The United Kingdom, the United States of America and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, who added France to their number at Yalta in February 1945, failed to impose the Potsdam Agreement, and, as France was not a signatory, so it could stand apart and prevent its being put into practice. In this way the division of Germany came about.

Little attention has been paid to East Germany in Britain and America. There is a paucity of informed material on that part of Germany which now calls itself the first socialist state on German soil. The authors have undertaken the task of succinctly presenting the social, economic and political realities of the German Democratic Republic, and several of the chapters are a welcome treatment of the subject available in English. The authors have consistently sought to come to terms with the political realities of the GDR and have not been satisfied with parading official views. Unfortunately the GDR government does not permit independent inquiries as to the political convictions of its citizens so that the conclusions reached in this study are of necessity tentative.

Nevertheless the work has its drawbacks. It appears to have been completed about 1971. Some of the changes which occurred between 1971 and 1973 have been included, but not all. The major omission is that the amendments to the GDR constitution of October 7, 1974, which affected no less than 43 of the 108 articles of the 1968 constitution, have not been taken into account. This is understandable as a book published in early 1975 but unfortunately these constitutional amendments have introduced major changes. The section on the Council of State is now quite out of date. The main changes are that the Council of State no longer carries out all the fundamental duties which flow from the laws and decrees of the People's Chamber between sittings of the latter, the Council of State only convenes the People's Chamber, presides over the sessions of the Council of State, and is excluded from the legislative process. It no longer has the power to set legal norms, it is no longer a constitutional court. This Council of Ministers is now legally and constitutionally the government of the GDR and is responsible for managing the economy and other social sectors as well as executing foreign policy. All industrial concerns are now classified as people's property. Ulbricht's "socialist human community" has given way to "socialist society". The GDR is a socialist state of the German nation (article 1) has become "the GDR is a socialist state of workers and collective farmers".

The sections on industry and agriculture are not up to date. The socialist sector now accounts for 99.9 per cent of industry. The *Kooperative Abteilung (KAP)*, a combination of state and collective farming, dominates agriculture.

The translator has produced a text which reads very well. However, there are a few small errors. *Massenorganisationen* are mass organizations, not giant organizations. The Socialist Unity Party (SED), for example, with 1.9 million members, is a giant organization but it is not a mass organization. *Parteien* is party congress, not conference; *Bauer* is peasant or collective farmer, not an agricultural worker. In the section on workers, collective farmers are not workers, but a man who works on a state farm is a worker.

Martin McCauley

Unfulfilled promises

The Labour Party and the Struggle for Socialism
by David Coates
Cambridge University Press, £5.00 and £2.00
ISBN 0 521 20740 1 and 09939 0

Dr Coates's book is a polemic against the Labour Party from the standpoint of the syndicalist sect, International Socialism. Its purpose is to convince socialists that there is no future for them in the Labour Party. Coates claims that the Labour Party is an obstacle to the possibility of any radical improvement in the lot of British workers.

The thesis is not new, nor is it supported by arguments of any particular power or perception. In the opening chapter, "The Socialist Promise", Coates discusses the apparently revolutionary demands contained in Labour's 1973 programme. He uses the promises made there as a peg on which to hang some rhetorical questions. He asks: "Has the Labour Party really converged itself into a force which will reform capitalism out of existence, and, if it has, will the promise of the 1973 programme prove more successful than have similar Labour promises in the past?" To answer this question he looks, in chapter two, at the early Labour party; in chapter three at the Labour Governments of 1945-51; in chapter four at the party in opposition from 1951 to 1964; in chapter five at Harold Wilson's first long period of office from 1964-70.

Coates's method in these four chapters is to look first at the programmes produced by the party and then compare these promises with the party's performance. Dr Coates discovers, to his apparent surprise, that achievement does not

match promise. Of these chapters, the best is about the party in opposition during the "thirteen wasted years" of Tory rule. When he compares the styles of Attlee and Gaitskell as leaders, and the differences in policy between the older generation led by Herbert Morrison and the younger group around Gaitskell he is most interesting. For in discussing the period when Labour was out of office Coates's usual method cannot get in his way. There is no "experience in office" for him to contrast with programmes. In any case, the simple equation of the party's socialism with its statements of policy is a considerable oversimplification. The party's socialism is more than just a series of policies. It is also the prevailing tone and sentiment of the various working class communities which support the party. But since the book is a polemic and not an academic treatise, perhaps this falling does not matter very much. Its intention is to persuade and not to convince, nor why that party has so many times fulfilled its promises in government, nor does he tell us how many council houses it has built nor how much additional public money it has caused to be spent on the pensions of the workers. He does not give this part of the story, but he certainly attracts the attention of his title promises because he cannot. He cannot examine it, because it would then have to show that British workers are impressively uninterested in dividing into warring parties. They have learned, and the lesson has become very much a part of their socialism—that "divide and rule" is part of their enemies' game. Hence they remain overwhelmingly loyal to the one party which, for all its failings, is their party. Coates's failure to grapple with this issue seriously weakens the persuasive force of this book.

H. M. Drucker

Attacked from both sides

The Kuril Islands: Russo-Japanese Frontiers in the Pacific
by John J. Stephan
Clarendon Press: Oxford University Press, £6.25
ISBN 0 19 621563 0

The Kurils stretch in an arc from the northern tip of Japanese Hokkaido to a point near Soviet Kamchatka, effectively closing in the Sea of Okhotsk from the Pacific. There are 20 islands varying in size from comparatively large land masses such as Iturup and Paramushir to minute volcanic rocks, the tips of submarine mountains.

Their climatic and geophysical characteristics are varied and extreme. Much of the land suffers from extreme cold, yet in some places agriculture flourishes. Sands warmed by volcanic activity make it possible to cook without the use of fires. Extensive fogs and tidal waves contribute to a harsh environment for settlers and for navigators. In the surrounding waters, because of the rich fauna and the help which swatches the beaches the Kurils have been exploited by hunters and traders from many nations, with the Russians and the Japanese more in evidence than any others.

Mr Stephan's book, like his earlier publication on Sakhalin Island, is devoted to an investigation of the interaction of Japanese and Russian interests in the area over several centuries. He is eminently qualified to undertake this work, since he possesses a relatively rare combination of linguistic skills—a knowledge of both Russian and Japanese. Being an outsider he is able to disentangle the mutually exclusive claims of both sides to the island chain.

One interesting aspect of his book is the revelation of the ways in which both parties have won and

exploited the original inhabitants, the Ainu. The southern Ainu were helped materially by the extension of Japanese power, but at the same time were urged to cut their hair in the Japanese fashion, and to dress and speak in the Japanese manner. The northern groups spoke and dressed like Russians: "They adorned their pit dwellings with portraits of the Tsar and the Virgin Mary. They . . . gave every appearance of professing the Greek Orthodox faith. They even drank and swore like Russians." Such radical changes in the life style of originally similar cultural groups led to great difficulties when the islands were united first under Japanese rule and later under Soviet domination.

One complaint about the way in which the subject is tackled is that though we are presented with an extended excursion into the origins of the Ainu, little is said about their culture before penetration by alien influences. Perhaps this is because of a lack of source materials.

In the early stages of Russo-Japanese expansion scant thought was given to regularizing the situation. Penetration proceeded piecemeal as hunters and merchants undertook expeditions. There were known cases of armed assaults by Russians on Japanese outposts. In one incident a state skin to war was reached, yet wider counsels prevailed at government level.

During the early nineteenth century both groups had reached roughly the mid-point in the chain, but under the Treaty of Shimoda in 1855 the Russians gained several islands to the south of this line. Twenty years later a new treaty gave Sakhalin to the Russians and the Kurils to the Japanese. Some Russianized Ainu and Aleuts moved

already lower than when the first explorers had visited.

The Japanese authorities found that governing and supplying widely scattered groups of settlements was expensive and difficult. In addition the presence of Russianized inhabitants in the north was regarded as a security risk. During 1884 there was a mass resettlement, with the Ainu completely withdrawn from the islands. Efforts to provide adequate accommodation and farming land were of no avail and the migrants did not thrive. Loss of ancestral homes and a change of diet and livelihood led to many deaths, some following suicidal attempts to sail back, frantically seeking removal to a strong-arming of pro-Russian feeling, as the northern Ainu clung to their cultural heritage, by this time Russian. As late as 1940 there was an active Orthodox Church in the resettlement zone.

Attempts to educate the young to Japanese ways failed. When the Russians returned in 1945 there were few of the settlers' descendants left. Many had been taken to Hokkaido during the War. In 1972 there were still 17 of them living there.

Since the end of the Second World War, the whole chain has reverted to the Russians. The existing fishing and pulp industries have been added to by nascent tourist and mineral extractive activities. In the future these will provide an important part of the livelihood of the present fifteen thousand inhabitants.

The modern history of the Kuril Islands, so admirably depicted by the author, is but one more case of a remote part of the world being absorbed into the power conflicts of advanced nations to the detriment of the aboriginal population. Unlike many of these areas, whose geo-political future is now firmly decided, the Kurils remain an area of friction. Japanese claims to several southern islands are still voiced at governmental level; until the issue has been decided, relations between the two powers will remain uncertain.

D. N. Collins

Adopting Western ways

Politics in Zambia
edited by William Tordoff
Manchester University Press, £6.00
ISBN 0 7190 0551 5

On December 13, 1972, the one-party state was officially created in Zambia and the Second Republic, as it became called, began. This volume of essays deals with the First Republic, the first eight years of Zambia's independence, and it concentrates above all on the party competition at the national level which marked these years. These are perhaps limitations, for it must remain a study of a system that is past and its historical and descriptive character most likely to influence the factors of present day Zambia; furthermore, the electoral perspective, which gives the volume its coherence (at the expense of some unwelcome repetition) does of course prevent anything like a comprehensive picture of Zambian politics.

Nevertheless, this is unquestionably a welcome addition to the literature on Zambia, for there is nothing comparable on the market. Despite its limitations, it still provides more information and background material than any other single publication on the country and it should be used as the starting point for more detailed studies, either of topics covered or merely alluded to. Although it is not a book to be read from cover to cover, it will be essential reading for anyone starting out on the study of the politics of the First Zambian Republic. I shall certainly keep it in hand, if only for all the references.

And yet, there is something faintly unsatisfying about the end product. Naturally the contributions are not of equal quality nor of

equal importance. Molteno's chapter on cleavages and conflict seems especially valuable and is one of the few chapters which is obviously relevant to students of African politics generally, while the chapters on Parliament, an institution which the authors admit to be of only passing significance, and on Zambia's response to Rhodesia's unilateral declaration of independence, which is unfortunately very out of date, could have been cut to make way for more on rural politics or individual perceptions of the political system. The hand of the editor is insufficiently evident, neither providing a clear framework within which the contributions are to fit nor cutting out unnecessary duplications of material. Indeed, the contributions of Robert Molteno, the most prolific writer in the volume, perhaps deserve recognition on the dust-jacket. The last pages exemplify these observations, for the conclusion, with its attractive appeal to radicalism and policy-oriented concerns, fits uncomfortably with all but a handful of the preceding 400 pages.

This uncomfortable fit is more of style or methodological approach than of substance. For there is a high degree of agreement among the contributing authors about the First Republic, which, despite its successes in coping with I.D.I. or expanding educational opportunities, was marked by the consolidation of an indigenous bourgeoisie, a trend towards materialist values and intense competition for positions of authority. The period has normally provided, President Kaunda's philosophy of humanism is immediately appealing if not very specific, but I have little faith that ideologies are likely to transform elite attitudes and behaviour and the evidence from Professor Tordoff's volume does nothing to persuade me otherwise.

Richard Hodder-Williams

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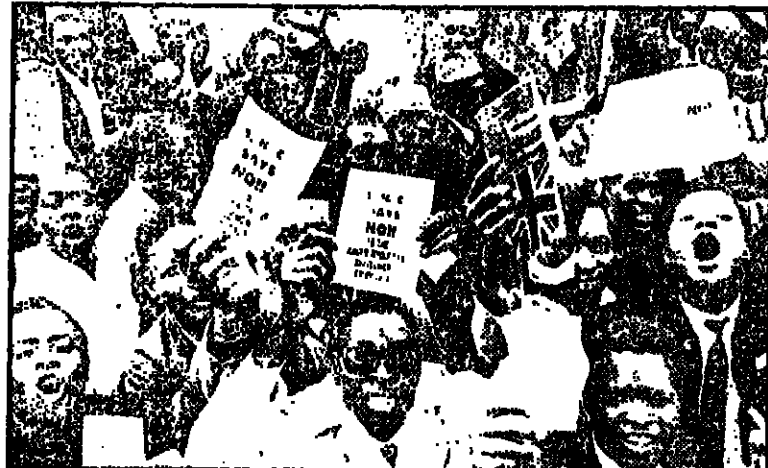
BOOKS

Unravelling Rhodesian myths

Rhodesia, White Racism and Imperial Response
by Martin Loney
Penguin, 70p
ISBN 0 14 041 011 4
The Rhodesian Problem: A Documentary Record 1923-1973
by Elaine Windrich
Routledge and Kegan Paul, £5.95
ISBN 0 7100 8080 8

There are two useful books, neither of which completely fulfils its promise. Martin Loney's book is useful for two reasons. One is that there isn't any other single volume study of Rhodesia which covers the ground from the 1890s to the present day. Those who have worked in Rhodesia and have published monographs have fought shy of making this kind of synthesis, and we should be properly appreciative of the difficulties involved in it. The second reason is that Mr Loney brings a particular perspective to bear on Rhodesia—the perspective of the committed Third World radical—which ensures that the reader never loses sight of a wider context. Elaine Windrich's book is useful because it documents a record which speaks for itself about the essential structures of Rhodesian society and about the futile and inglorious British attempts to do something about Rhodesia in a time when the whole issue has once again reached the headlines. So I shall use her book as a set text in the special subject I am teaching on Rhodesia; and Mr Loney's will certainly be there on the recommended reading list.

But both books are rather less than they might have been. As I have suggested, it would be unreasonable to take Mr Loney to task



Supporters of the African National Council demonstrating against Britain's proposals for a Rhodesian settlement in 1972.

for not knowing about all the research and pending publication on Rhodesia. It is a pity, but not fatally damaging, that he has not been able to use the recent work of David Beach and Julian Cobbing and Ngwabi Dhebe and Elzek Mashigauze, which amounts to a very considerable reinterpretation of Ndebele and Shona history in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. But it is more than a pity that he has not been able to make use of the work of Charles Van Onselen on the economic and social history of the Rhodesian mining industry and on the consciousness of African miners; of Ian Phimister on the peasantry; of Robin Palmer on land allocation. Because he has not had access to this material—some of it available in article form—Mr Loney has to depend exclusively on Arrighi's work in order to match his radical perspective to the Rhodesian data. As a result it often seems very external, applied to the Rhodesian specifics like a coat of

paint rather than arising integrally out of them. This sort of perspective faces the danger of being fashionable. It can provide a useful analysis; it can be merely a trendy packaging. Mr Loney is certainly after rigorous analysis—and criticizes the nationalist parties for not providing any. But one cannot help but feel at points that he has not been able to get at the Rhodesian data in a rigorous way and that some of his conclusions are professions of faith rather than demonstrated reason. Thus, his book is in fact much stronger on the European role in Rhodesia and particularly on British policy and the reasons for it than it is on transformations within the African societies of the territory. So when he writes: "The urban working class cannot themselves overthrow the white government but they provide a ready source of cadres with a predisposition to a collective socialist consciousness as distinct from the individualistic traits of the

peasantry. Unless the struggle is led by an armed revolutionary nationalist party, there is a danger that the African working class will turn to purely pragmatic material goals; one feels in the presence of jargon rather than illumination. And when he ends the book with Cahra's magnificent call to "bring the war home" and to assist the revolutionaries in Rhodesia by revolutionary action in Britain, the connection remains undemonstrated in this case so that the ending seems like romanticism.

The materials now exist for a more successful radical analysis of Rhodesia; one hopes that Mr Loney's book will be seen as an additional call for the production of such an analysis rather than failed as making such analysis unnecessary.

As for Elaine Windrich's documentary collection, this seems to me to fail by the criteria of the series in which it appears. This series is "designed to... provide a range of contemporary material drawn from many sources, not only from official and semi-official records, but also from contemporary historical writing from reliable journals... Through these volumes the student can learn how to read and assess historical documents. He will learn how the contemporary historian works and how historical judgments are formed. He will learn to discriminate among a number of sources and to weigh the evidence."

Elaine Windrich's collection of sources is helpful to students who don't have access to journals. But it would be a pity if students thought that it was possible to write contemporary history from this kind of material alone. The extracts are drawn from published commission reports; from published political memoirs; from parliamentary debates; from articles in the press and in journals. There is nothing of a more "primary" character, though even the Rhodesian archives would

have provided some relevant archival material for the first period covered by the book, and there are collections in Stanford and London and in private hands that could have been drawn upon. There is no transcript of an oral interview; only one very brief transcript of trial proceedings. Moreover, the documents are used essentially to illustrate the commentary rather than to allow a student to weigh one against the other or to determine which kind of source is the more reliable. The editor makes no attempt to discuss the character of different kinds of sources or to show how particular documents have to be interpreted; the extracts are simply given as "showing" this or "illustrating" that, and usually taken very much at face value. There is no attempt made to show the student something about the bland face of official reports by quoting as well as the report, the private correspondence of those who drew it up—as Robin Palmer has done with such effect to reveal the motivations which underlay the various reports on land in Rhodesia.

Of course, Elaine Windrich's heart and mind are in what I regard as the right place: the documents march effectively in the direction of showing the injustices of the Rhodesian regime, and the general editor is justified in claiming that "how all this has come about is both soberly and dramatically illustrated by Dr Windrich". It might well be thought more important to do this than to illuminate historiography. But as Mr Loney rightly remarks, "Studying the colonization of Southern Rhodesia is a tortuous process, for it involves the unravelling of several myths". Nothing can be more to the service of "the right cause" and of rigorous analysis than an effective use of the skills of historiographical criticism. And this Windrich's collection does not do much to provide.

Terence Ranger

LOCATION AND SPACE IN SOCIAL ADMINISTRATION

BRYAN MASSAM

This book introduces students to contemporary procedures for analysing the influence of space and location on the provision of public services. It is intended to bridge the gap between a social value-oriented approach and one which relies more heavily on rigorous analytical techniques. Published 8th May. Cloth £6.30 Paper £3.15

SOCIAL JUSTICE AND THE CITY

DAVID HARVEY

Now Published in Paperback. *Social Justice and the City* is a good book, by any standards, and it is to be hoped that even those many of his colleagues in geography, economics and sociology, who may suspect that the dose of theoretical Marxism which we are offered here is too undiluted, may nonetheless ask themselves whether they can, either through some type of revisionist theory or otherwise, offer a better and more comprehensive theory of the City. Times Literary Supplement 10th May 1975. Paper £1.75

MARXISM AND IMPERIALISM

V. G. KIRKMAN

This book examines the contribution of classical Marxist theory to some of the main problems of modern (19th and 20th Century) imperialism. It is a major work by the author, who is a leading authority on the subject. The author shows how imperialism's judicial function is exercised as a political tool, and how it is the consequence of the consequent change in its structure and membership in the relationship between the imperial powers. Cloth £3.50 Paper £1.75

THE KING'S PARLIAMENT OF ENGLAND

G. O. SAYLES

In this book the author draws together for the first time his life-long work on the medieval parliament. This is a major work by the author, who is a leading authority on the subject. The author shows how imperialism's judicial function is exercised as a political tool, and how it is the consequence of the consequent change in its structure and membership in the relationship between the imperial powers. Cloth £3.50 Paper £1.75

EDWARD ARNOLD

25, Abchurch Lane, London E.C. 4

Demanding accommodation

Popular Protest and Public Order: Six Studies in British History 1790-1920
edited by R. Quinault and J. Stevenson
Allen & Unwin, £5.25
ISBN 0 04 942137 9

"Protests should not always be seen as a weakness in society, but as a means by which demands are made and accommodated." This statement from the wide-ranging introduction to the six essays presented here neatly expresses the emphasis of this book. Certainly five of them, the ones written by former students of Nuffield College, Oxford, deal with matters that largely fall between the twin poles of demand and accommodation.

This does not mean that they ignore the possibility that the popular protests with which they deal could have pointed to a quasi-revolutionary situation. They consider the possibility and turn it down. No nostalgia for a revolution *man quid* haunts these pages and they are none the worse for that. There is here no search for lost opportunities, yet an apology either for acts of stern repression to save the country from the brink. Indeed, in his essay on Red Clydeside 1915-1919 John MacLean disposes in one and the same time of the revolutionary rhetoric of Willie Gallacher's reminiscences and the shrill memoir of the head of the Special Branch.

Teachers of history on the look-out for a good debate on which to sharpen their wits and those of their students will find this a very good essay. The shop-stewards movement in British industry around the time of the First World War is rapidly moving into the language canon of the workers' standard of living in the Industrial Revolution.

McLean describes the demands being made on Clydeside as both conservative and sectional. It is in terms of conservatism that food riots in eighteenth and early nineteenth-century England have been analysed for some time now. J. Stevenson's essay, *Food Riots in England 1792-1818*, adds a new dimension to the subject by asking questions about the geographical and social distribution of the riots. E. Richards on "Patterns of Highland Discontent, 1790-1860", is primarily a study of protest against the highland clearances. It appears to have grown out of his earlier book on the Sutherland estates, in which the clearances were seen through the eyes of those responsible for the new policy. Now he has turned his attention to the reasons of those who were evicted, and chronicles the disturbances and the ease with which they were put down. The material will be new to most readers, but unfortunately so will be some of the terms of whose obscurity the author is no longer conscious.

Those unfamiliar with his book will also find it hard to follow his argument that the protests were not altogether effective. Yet in the last analysis it is not the lack of resistance that really puzzles him. At the heart of the essay is the question, "Why didn't the Scots peasant shoot his landlord?" The contrast with Ireland is constantly in mind. To solve the problem, however, requires a wider frame of reference than Dr Richards has.

It is not merely lack of space that leads me to consign the remaining essays to a brief coda. R. C. Marsh on the Negro of the group, has contorted himself with adding a footnote to the existing literature on the relation between Chartism and the Plot Plot of 1842. R. Quinault's piece on the Yorkshire County Militancy, 1830-70, makes a promising beginning, but is probably a premature publication. Phillips chronicles the decline of violence in the Black Country.

E. P. Hennock

This week's reviewers

David Berry is a lecturer in sociology at the University of Cardiff; D. S. Brewer, lecturer in English and fellow of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, has written "Patterns of Love and Courtesy" and "Sphere of English Literature" volume 1.

Douglas Brooks lectures in English at the University of Manchester; he has edited "Henry Fielding: Joseph Andrews and Shamela" and written "Number and Pattern in the Eighteenth-Century Novel". Peter Conrad has written "The Victorian Treasure-House" and has a forthcoming book on Sterne; Ivor Crewe lectures in the department of government at the University of Essex and has edited volume 1 of "The British Political Society Yearbook".

James Douglas is consultant director of the Conservative party research department; H. M. Drucker is lecturer in the department of politics at the University of Edinburgh and author of "The Political Uses of Ideology"; J. A. S. Grenville is the professor of modern history at the University of Birmingham and has written "The Major International Treaties 1914-1973: a history and guide with texts".

Norman Hampson is professor of history at the University of York; his most recent publication is "The Life and Opinions of Maximilien Robespierre". E. P. Hennock is author of "Fit and Proper Persons" and "Ideal and Reality in Nineteenth-Century Urban Government". Richard Hodder-Williams is co-editor of the "Journal of Southern African Studies" and lectures in politics at the University of Warwick.

Ronald Irving has written "Christian Democracy in France" and many articles on French, German and Italian politics; Terence Ranger is professor of modern history at the University of Manchester and has written "Revolution in Southern Rhodesia, 1895-71" and "The African Voice in Southern Rhodesia, 1898-1930". Dame Eileen Younghouse is a well-known figure in all aspects of social work including juvenile courts, probation, and the health service.

HUTCHINSON

BOOKS ON POLITICS

The Government and Politics of East Germany

Kurt Sontheimer and Wilhelm Bleek

This new study presents a comprehensive survey of the political, social and economic system of the GDR and its foreign policy. The authors emphasise that despite its close relationship with the Soviet Union, the GDR is now an economic and political entity in its own right. 09 122020 3 cased £5.25

Social Policy

New Edition

T. H. Marshall

A fully revised edition of Professor Marshall's classic analysis of the Welfare State. The *New Statesman* said of a previous edition: "A model of compact information and lucid exposition... It is hard to think who could have done better." 09 122620 1 cased £3.95 09 122621 X paper £1.95

Hutchinson, 3 Fitzroy Square, London, W1P 6JD.

Classified Advertisements

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Typing and Duplicating

Universities

THE NEW UNIVERSITY OF ULSTER Vice-Chancellor

The University has been advised by its Vice-Chancellor, Dr. Norman Alan Burges, that it is his intention to retire at the end of September, 1976.

A Joint Committee of the Council and the Senate has been established under the Chairmanship of the Pro-Chancellor, Chairman of Council, Mr. R. S. McCulloch, to recommend the appointment of a successor. The Joint Committee will be pleased to hear of or from those who might wish to be considered for this office whether by personal letter or by nomination from others.

All communications should be marked personal and confidential.

W. T. EWING
Registrar and Secretary
to the Joint Committee
Coleraine, N. Ireland

RU Leiden

The UNIVERSITY OF LEIDEN invites applications for a full-time post as

LECTURER IN ENGLISH

The person to be appointed should have a good honours degree, should be well-versed in modern linguistics and have a special interest in the phonology and/or syntax of present-day English. Teaching duties will include some language laboratory instruction, and TEFL experience will be an added recommendation.

Applications, including a curriculum vitae and names of at least three referees to be addressed to: Hoofd afdeling Personeelszaken, Rijksuniversiteit, Stationsweg 48, Leiden, Netherlands, within a fortnight after the publication of this advertisement, mentioning vacancy no. 775113.

Universite de Geneve Ecole de Traduction Et D'Interpretation

Translator's Diploma

4 years post A-Level

2 or 3 years (according to qualifications) post-graduate

Interpreter's Diploma

1 year post-graduate

CLOSING DATE FOR APPLICATIONS:

30th JUNE, 1975

INFORMATION FROM:

Secrétaire, Ecole de Traduction et d'Interprétation, Université de Genève, Rue de Candolle 2, CH-1201 Genève 4, Switzerland.

Geneva 4, Switzerland.

Geneva 4, Switzerland.

Geneva 4, Switzerland.

Geneva 4, Switzerland.

Geneva 4, Switzerland.

University of Sussex

Lectureships in the Humanities and Social Sciences

Applications are invited for the following posts from 1st October, 1975:

A. Lectureships, normal tenure

MUSIC

in the School of English & American Studies, principally to teach general musicianship.

SOCIOLOGY

in the School of Cultural & Community Studies. The person appointed will be expected to contribute to the teaching of one or two Major courses: Comparative Social Structures in Non-Industrial Societies and/or Sociological Theory. Contribution to the teaching of a Methods Workshop will be essential.

B. Temporary Lectureships for one year

SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY

in the School of Cultural & Community Studies.

ITALIAN

Two posts in the School of European Studies. Applicants should have interests in both language and literature, and must be able to contribute teaching in aspects of Italian culture, history or institutions to the general courses of the School.

PHILOSOPHY

In the School of European Studies. Applicants should be able to teach contemporary European philosophy, and preferably Marxism also.

SOCIOLOGY

in the School of Social Sciences. The person appointed will be expected to contribute to the teaching of the Major courses in the discipline (Comparative Social Structures in Non-Industrial Societies; Sociological Theory and Methods Workshop). Preference will be given to applicants with special interests in one of the following fields: Stratification, Sociology of Development, Sociological Theory.

Initial salaries will be within the range £2,118 to £2,412 per annum on the Lecturer scale (£2,118 to £4,896 per annum) plus threshold payments and FSSU/US\$ where appropriate.

Further particulars for each post and application forms, returnable by 31st May, 1975, are available from the Establishment Section, Office of Arts & Social Studies, Arts Building, University of Sussex, Brighton BN1 9QN (Brighton 60755, extension 712, Miss Holland) quoting the title of the post and reference 462/THES.

AUSTRALIA

THE UNIVERSITY OF MELBOURNE

LECTURES IN THE DEPARTMENT OF ECONOMIC HISTORY

Applications are invited for two posts (one full-time, one part-time) to commence in January, 1976.

The department presently conducts courses on the history of the economy, social and economic history, and the history of the labour movement in Australia, New Zealand, and South Africa.

Applicants should have a degree in history or economics, and a minimum of five years' experience in teaching or research in the field of economic history.

Appointments will be on a full-time basis within the Lecturer Scale, £2,118 to £4,896 per annum.

Further information, including details of application forms, is available from the Department of Economic History, University of Melbourne, Parkville, Victoria, Australia.

Applications should be sent to the Department of Economic History, University of Melbourne, Parkville, Victoria, Australia.

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AUSTRALIA

LA TROBE UNIVERSITY

Melbourne

LECTURES IN EDUCATION

(two positions)

in the Centre for Comparative and International Studies in Education, School of Education

Applicants should have a degree in education and a minimum of five years' experience in teaching or research in the field of education.

Appointments will be on a full-time basis within the Lecturer Scale, £2,118 to £4,896 per annum.

Further information, including details of application forms, is available from the Centre for Comparative and International Studies in Education, School of Education, La Trobe University, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.

Applications should be sent to the Centre for Comparative and International Studies in Education, School of Education, La Trobe University, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.

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Applications should be sent to the Centre for Comparative and International Studies in Education, School of Education, La Trobe University, Melbourne, Victoria, Australia.

UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN Trinity College

LEVERHULME EUROPEAN VISITING FELLOWSHIP

Trinity College intends to appoint a Leverhulme European Visiting Fellow for the academic year 1975-1976 and applications are invited from those outside the British Isles who hold or expect to hold a degree of Doctor of Philosophy or its equivalent from an institution of university status in a Council of Europe member country (except Malta). The Fellowship is transferable in any field of study except Modern European Languages and Literature. The Fellowship carries a tax free stipend of £1,500 and an additional allowance of £300 may be paid if a Fellow is accompanied by his wife. Candidates who wish to be considered should send full details of career to date and the names and addresses of two referees to:

The Staff Secretary,
West House,
Trinity College,
DUBLIN 2.

In receipt him not later than Monday, 19th May, 1975.

AUSTRALIA THE UNIVERSITY OF QUEENSLAND

SENIOR LECTURER/LECTURER IN EDUCATION

Applications are invited for the following posts:

Senior Lecturer, £15,400-£17,900 p.a. (Aust.)

Lecturer, £9,600-£15,100 p.a. (Aust.)

Appointments subject to commencement as soon as possible.

Inquiries to Mr N. Bowman, Head Curriculum Studies.

Applications to:

The Registrar,
CAPRICORNIA INSTITUTE OF ADVANCED EDUCATION,
M.S. 76,
ROCKHAMPTON, QLD.
4700, AUSTRALIA

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Colleges of Further Education continued

waltham forest
collegeDEPARTMENT OF BUSINESS
ADMINISTRATION

Re-advertisement (previous applicants will be considered and need not re-apply).

Principal Lecturer

Department of Business Administration for September, 1978. To act as deputy to the Head of Department (Grade VI). Candidates must be professionally qualified with good administrative experience in industry and further education, and able to teach in the fields of accountancy, economics and management.

Salary: Burnham, F.E. Scale Principal Lecturer £5,001-£6,429, plus £267 London Allowance, plus £225 threshold agreement.

There is a scheme for mortgage facilities in approved cases.

Application forms and further particulars from the Principal (Staffing), Waltham Forest College, Forest Road, London E17 4JB.

Telephone No. 527 2268 and 2272.

Ansafone Service: 17.00-09.00 hours.

Closing date: 16th May, 1978.

GLASGOW

GLASGOW COLLEGE OF
BUILDING AND PRINTING

Applications are invited from persons with appropriate qualifications, preferably second degree level, and with proven administrative experience for the post of Principal Lecturer in the Department of Building and Printing.

The person appointed will lead a department which offers courses in building and printing, and will be responsible for the development of the department and the supervision of staff.

The present salary scale, under consideration, is £5,001-£6,429, plus £267 London Allowance, plus £225 threshold agreement.

Application forms and further details can be obtained from the Principal, Glasgow College of Building and Printing, 60 North Hunter Street, Glasgow G1 1 2HP (041-332 0321).

Closing date for completed applications: 9th June, 1978.

Overseas

Ministry of
Overseas Development

Technical Education

Adviser £6,700-£7,750

An adviser is required for the Middle East Development Division of this Ministry to advise the Head of the Division, British Missions and Overseas Governments in the region on the technical and professional aspects of programmes and projects for the development of technical and vocational education in all its aspects, in order to help meet the skill manpower needs of the region. The Middle East Development Division is a multi-disciplinary team of professional advisers and is based in Beirut. Considerable travelling to other countries in the area is involved.

Candidates should normally be aged between 35 and 55 and have a degree with honours or an equivalent qualification, preferably in science, engineering or a similar discipline. They must have sound knowledge and experience of UK technical education and training practice, with the ability to relate this to other parts of the education system and to industrial training. Practical experience in industry and commerce and some experience of education in a developing country would be advantageous.

Starting salary within the quoted scale; Inner London weighting of £410 a year is payable in addition to appropriate overseas allowances. The appointment will be on a 4 year contract and, with a present employer's agreement, on secondment terms.

Further details of this appointment may be obtained by writing to Miss J. A. Grady, Ministry of Overseas Development, Strand House, Strand Place, London, SW1E 6DH, before 31st May.

AUSTRALIA
GOULBURN TEACHERS COLLEGE
A COLLEGE OF ADVANCED EDUCATION

Goulburn Teachers College is a corporate College of Advanced Education in terms of the Higher Education Act 1969, offering two 3-year full-time Diplomas in Teaching programmes (General Primary and Industrial Arts) and an External Conversion Course. It is planned to extend the range of external programmes in 1978/79 and to introduce programmes other than teacher education in 1978/79.

Conditions of employment are similar to those in other tertiary institutions including some opportunities for staff members to continue with post-graduate studies. Assistance with removal and travel expenses will be available to successful applicants.

Goulburn (population 23,000) is situated in the Southern Highlands of New South Wales, being only 130 miles from Sydney and 60 miles from Canberra, the National Capital. Goulburn is a centre that grows some of the world's finest wools and has recently gained new secondary industries to add to the industrial growth of the area.

Goulburn Teachers College at present has a student population of 700 with programmed expansion to 1,000 in 1978/79, drawing on the South Eastern Region of New South Wales for the majority of its students. Applications are invited for the following positions:

DEPARTMENT OF
SOCIAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL SCIENCESENIOR LECTURER
IN SCIENCE PROGRAMMES

SALARY: \$A15,400 p.a. range \$A17,900 p.a.

QUALIFICATIONS: Degree with honours or equivalent in a Biological Science and post-graduate qualifications at masters level or above. Recognised teaching qualifications are essential. Experience in teaching and an interest in Science Education are desirable.

The Department at present offers courses in Environmental Studies, Biology and primary school Natural Science Curriculum. The appointee would be required to give leadership in these courses and to contribute to the development of a new programme in the area of Environmental Management.

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

LECTURERS/ASSISTANT
LECTURERS IN(a) PSYCHOLOGY
(b) SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION
AND/OR ANTHROPOLOGY

SALARY: Assistant Lecturer—\$A9,759 p.a. range \$A11,250 p.a. Lecturer—\$A11,250 p.a. range \$A15,100 p.a.

QUALIFICATIONS: Applicants should possess an honours degree or equivalent in the field, areas detailed below. Teaching qualifications are essential and teaching experience is desirable.

PSYCHOLOGY: The successful applicant should be qualified academically, and through experience, to teach courses in Child Growth and Development, or in Learning Theories, and to contribute to other courses in Psychology or Educational Psychology in which the applicant has special interests. Experience in such fields as curriculum development, counselling and guidance, or special education could be an advantage.

SOCIOLOGY OF EDUCATION—ANTHROPOLOGY: The Education Department offers foundation courses in the Sociology of Education and elective courses at more advanced levels. In addition, specialized courses in both Sociology and Anthropology are offered in the Behavioural Sciences, giving a lecturer opportunities to develop his areas of special interest. Appropriate academic background and teaching experience is essential.

Further information and application forms are available from the Secretary, Goulburn Teachers College, McDermott Drive, Goulburn, N.S.W. 2580, Australia. Telephone: (048) 21 4811.

Applications close on Friday, 8th June, 1978. L. Stephens, Secretary.

AUSTRALIA
North Brisbane College of Advanced
EducationLECTURESHIP VACANT
ENGLISH

Salary: Lecturer I \$A11,250/15,100 per annum dependent on qualifications

Lecturer II \$A9,800/12,400 per annum

The position calls for experience and success in teaching in the areas of Primary Language Arts, Creative Writing, and some aspects of Literature. Applicants should be objective, flexible teachers who can work both independently and as members of a team.

Application forms and further information available from the Agent-General for Queensland, 382 Strand, London, WC2R 0LZ.

Closing date: 13th June, 1978.

Kuring-Gai College
of Advanced Education

(Lindfield, New South Wales, Australia)

Kuring-gai College of Advanced Education is a new, multi-disciplinary tertiary institution which is to offer a wide range of courses in the Schools of Teacher Education, Financial and Administrative Studies and Applied Arts and Sciences. The College is of outstanding modern design and is located on a 50-acre bushland site overlooking Lane Cove National Park. It has a present enrolment of 1,250 students in the School of Teacher Education and 260 in the School of Financial and Administrative Studies.

New Academic Appointments

in the

Department of Library
and Information Studies

The Department of Library and Information Studies is currently planning both undergraduate and post graduate programmes in Librarianship which it proposes to introduce in 1978. These new programmes are being designed to meet vocational and professional needs while emphasizing also the personal development of students and the development of their analytic skills through concentrated disciplinary study. The development of these programmes has been achieved with the assistance of academic and professional consultants. The Department also plans to develop innovative programmes of applied research and continuing education in a number of library and information fields. The College is seeking to make academic appointments to the Department of Library and Information Studies in the following areas:

Information User Studies

Information Resources

Information Methods

The Department expects to develop these areas generally, and specifically in public (community) information services, education (school, college) information services, and special (business, law) information services.

Initial appointments will be made during the second half of 1975 to assist in the development of the new courses and additional appointments will be made to enable the introduction of courses in 1976.

Applications for these positions are invited from graduates with professional qualifications in librarianship and, preferably, both professional and teaching experience.

Successful applicants will be placed according to qualifications and experience in the Senior Lecturer, Lecturer or Assistant Lecturer scale.

Salary ranges:

Senior Lecturer: \$A15,400 to \$A17,900 per annum

Lecturer: \$A11,250 to \$A15,100 per annum

Assistant Lecturer: \$A9,759 to \$A11,250 per annum

Fares for overseas appointees and their families will be met and a contribution made towards removal expenses and initial accommodation expenses. An attractive housing loan is available and provision will be made for study leave.

Applications in writing giving personal details, qualifications, experience and the names of two referees should reach the Secretary, Kuring-gai College of Advanced Education, P.O. Box 222, Lindfield, N.S.W., 2070, Australia, by 30th June.

Rhodes University
Grahamstown
South Africa

Applications are invited for the following posts with effect from 1st January, 1978:

Senior Lecturer/Lecturer in Social
AnthropologyLecturer/Junior Lecturer in Afrikaans
LiteratureLecturer/Junior Lecturer in Invertebrate
BiologyLecturer/Junior Lecturer in Journalism
Lecturer/Junior Lecturer in French
Linguistics

The salary scales are:

Senior Lecturer: R9,490 x 360—8,900 x 480—11,280 per annum

Lecturer: R6,300 x 360—5,180 per annum

Junior Lecturer: R4,920 x 180—5,100 x 240—6,300 x 360—5,880 per annum

(£1 sterling = approximately R1.80)

The initial salary in each grade will be determined according to qualifications and experience. A vacation savings bonus is also payable and the successful applicants will become members of the University's pension and medical aid schemes.

Further particulars and application forms may be obtained from the Registrar, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, 6140, South Africa, to whom completed applications with copies of recent testimonials and a photograph should be sent by 31st May, 1978.

Overseas continued

Western Australian Institute of Technology

DEAN
THE ARTS AND DESIGN

The Institute is a major college of advanced education with a current enrolment in excess of 10,000 students. The main campus is on a 270 acre site six miles south of the city of Perth.

The School of The Arts and Design is one of seven teaching schools of the Institute and has a current enrolment of 1,500 with potential for considerable expansion. It was established on 1st January, 1975, and brings together the fields of study of the performing and fine arts and the technology associated with design and architecture. Current departments in the School are:

English
Art and Design
Architecture

It is anticipated that a Department of Music will be established to take students in 1977.

The educational programmes of the School will place emphasis on the cultivation of close links with professional groups and the community. These will be facilitated by the construction of an arts complex comprising theatres, cinema and rehearsal areas which will assist community arts programmes, including the Western Australian Theatre Company which is sponsored by the Institute and the Perth Film Festival which will be based at the Institute.

Further commitments to the Arts include an Arts Acquisitions Committee, artefacts design in association with building projects and an "Artist in Residence" scheme.

The appointee will have responsibility for the academic and administrative affairs of the School and as Inaugural Dean will have the special opportunity to develop flexible and experimental approaches to education in this challenging field.

A person with a sensitivity for the development of the new School and a demonstrated capacity as an administrator of the Arts is sought to lead this major new development. High academic qualifications would be an advantage although the initial field of study is not significant.

General

Salary £Stg 12, 874 p.a. at the current rate of exchange. Salaries are payable in Australian dollars. In addition the Dean enjoys a limited right to private and consultative work.

Fares for family, assistance for removal expenses and accommodation are payable to appointees. Conditions of service include superannuation (similar to FSSU), six weeks annual leave plus public holidays, three months long service leave on completion of each seven years of service, sick leave and assisted study leave.

Detailed applications, including a curriculum vitae and names of three referees, should be submitted not later than 11th June, 1978, to The Migration Liaison Officer, Western Australia House, 115 Strand, London WC2R 0AJ. Further particulars may be obtained from the above address.

When applying please quote reference HE5.

The British Council

invites applications for the following posts:

Director of English Studies (Thailand)

ITEC Language Institute, Bangkok. Graduate with TEFL qualification and considerable experience. UK citizen.

Salary: £4,264-£5,524 pa, approx.

Benefits: overseas and children's allowances; free accommodation; medical scheme; employer's portion of UK superannuation. Two-year contract, renewable. 75 UO 97

TEFL Consultant (Thailand)

Faculty of Education, University of Khon Kaen. Graduate with relevant teaching experience and preferably TEFL qualification.

Salary: £2,746-£4,264 pa, approx.

Benefits: overseas and children's allowances; free accommodation; medical scheme; employer's portion of UK superannuation. Two-year contract, renewable. 75 UO 53

Lecturer in English (Solomon Islands)

British Solomon Islands Training College. Trained graduate with TESL qualification and relevant experience. UK citizen.

Salary: £3,505-£5,350 pa, approx.

Benefits: terminal gratuity; educational allowance; government accommodation; medical benefits. Two-year contract initially. 75 UT 4

TEFL Adviser/Lecturer (Pakistan)

The People's Open University, Islamabad. Graduate with experience of TEFL and mass media. UK citizen.

Salary: in excess of candidate's present emoluments. Benefits: overseas allowance; education allowance; free accommodation; medical scheme. Two-year contract. 75 UO 52

Return fares are paid. Local contracts are guaranteed by the British Council. Please write, briefly stating qualifications and length of appropriate experience; quote relevant reference number for further details and an application form to The British Council (Appointments), 65 Davies Street, London W1V 2AA.

More academics nominate the THES as "the most useful publication" for finding a new job than any other publication.

For a full range of appointment opportunities in your subject you need to follow the THES week by week.

* Survey by NOP Ltd., Spring 1974

AUSTRALIA
North Brisbane College of Advanced
EducationHEAD OF DEPARTMENT
OF BUSINESS STUDIES

Salary, \$A19,500 per annum

The above vacancy will shortly occur on the College staff.

The introduction of business studies at the College is planned for the beginning of 1977. Preliminary investigations have been made into course needs and facilities. The College now requires the services of an expert member of staff who, during the period before the enrolment of students will:

develop general course programmes and more detailed course plans; consult with architects and building contractors as the College expert in providing suitable facilities; advise the Council on matters relative to business education; establish relations with appropriate professional organizations; act as consultant in the appointment of staff.

Application forms and further information available from the Agent-General for Queensland, 382 Strand, London WC2R 0LZ. Closing date, June 13, 1978.

General Vacancies

ilea
INNER LONDON
EDUCATION AUTHORITYSenior Assistant
Education Officer,
Service Branches

Salary: £8,892-£9,738

and exceptionally up to £10,647 (including all allowances)

The Senior Assistant Education Officer (Service Branches) is one of the top management team working to the Education Officer. The others are the Deputy Education Officer (who has special responsibility for schools and teachers), the Chief Inspector, and the Senior Assistant Education Officer (Further and Higher Education, Community Education and Careers).

The Senior Assistant Education Officer will have the oversight of Development and Equipment (including sites and planning of buildings); Establishment (non-teaching staff); External Relations; Accounts Branches; the Education Television Service and the School Meals Service. The Senior Assistant Education Officer also has a special responsibility to the Education Officer for financial matters.

Experience in management, analytical ability, and a sensitivity to the changing needs of the Education Service are essential for this most demanding post.

Further information and application forms from the Education Officer, (EO/Estab 2A/1), The County Hall, SE1 7PB. Forms to be returned by 23rd May, 1978.

WILTSHIRE
EDUCATION
COMMITTEEAdviser for
Environmental & Rural Studies

(Post No. 75.114)

Adviser for
Design and Craft Studies

(Post No. 75.115)

SALARY: Southbury Main Scale Points 16 to 22 £4,137 to £4,707 plus £229.88 threshold

* Removal allowances up to maximum of £500.

* Lodging allowances up to £10 per week.

Full job specification from County Personnel Officer, County Hall, Trowbridge BA14 8JB, quoting post number. Closing date May 21, 1978.

Appointments
WantedHolidays and
Accommodation

QUALIFIED individuals seeking for research position in Britain, Ireland, Europe, Africa, Asia, Australia, New Zealand, etc. Write to: The Times Higher Education Supplement, 65 Davies Street, London W1V 2AA.

LOP: send cv to: 1st inst. 1978. Also: send cv to: 2nd inst. 1978. Also: send cv to: 3rd inst. 1978. Also: send cv to: 4th inst. 1978. Also: send cv to: 5th inst. 1978. Also: send cv to: 6th inst. 1978. Also: send cv to: 7th inst. 1978. Also: send cv to: 8th inst. 1978. Also: send cv to: 9th inst. 1978. Also: send cv to: 10th inst. 1978. Also: send cv to: 11th inst. 1978. Also: send cv to: 12th inst. 1978. Also: send cv to: 13th inst. 1978. Also: send cv to: 14th inst. 1978. Also: send cv to: 15th inst. 1978. Also: send cv to: 16th inst. 1978. Also: send cv to: 17th inst. 1978. Also: send cv to: 18th inst. 1978. Also: send cv to: 19th inst. 1978. Also: send cv to: 20th inst. 1978. Also: send cv to: 21st inst. 1978. Also: send cv to: 22nd inst. 1978. Also: send cv to: 23rd inst. 1978. Also: send cv to: 24th inst. 1978. Also: send cv to: 25th inst. 1978. Also: send cv to: 26th inst. 1978. Also: send cv to: 27th inst. 1978. Also: send cv to: 28th inst. 1978. 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